

LOWLAND SCOTS IN EDUCATION : A SURVEY
OF ATTITUDES AND POLICY, PAST AND PRESENT

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Abstract

This study offers a general survey from a linguistic standpoint of attitude and policy to Lowland Scots language in Scottish education. Chapter 1 outlines the aims of the thesis and considers the present status and condition of Scots language in schools along with some current perceptions of Scots and proposals about how it might be treated in education. A model of Scots and English language since the end of the 17th Century is set out for reference. Thereafter the thesis falls into two main parts.

Chapters 2 to 6 provide an historical account of attitudes and policy to Scots language in education from the Middle Ages to the present. This outlines and discusses the forms of Scots language used in schools by teachers and pupils, insofar as these can be determined, and the development of a language policy in schools in relation to the teaching of English, viewed against the general linguistic situation. The situation in the 19th C. is treated in some detail, particularly before and after 1872. The account for the 20th C. focuses on attempts to promote the inclusion of Scots language and literature in schools and how the Scottish Education Department has reacted to these.

Chapters 7 to 11 describe, analyse and discuss the results of a test administered to some secondary teachers to discover their general attitudes to Scots forms of language. Chapters 8 to 10 deal with reactions elicited to different accents on a test using the Matched Guise Technique, while chapter 11 is concerned with responses to lexical and grammatical Scotticisms. Chapter 12 provides a summary of conclusions.



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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and composition.

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION - AIM OF THE STUDY AND SOME CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PRESENT DAY SITUATION

The aim of this study is to survey the status of, attitudes to and treatment of Lowland Scots in Scottish schools, that is, at the primary and secondary levels of education, though there will also be some reference to the universities. The survey comprises two main parts: (1) an historical account covering the period from the Middle Ages to the present; (2) the analysis of results obtained from two tests administered to a sample of Scottish teachers as a means of gauging their general attitudes to Scots forms of speech.

Some knowledge of the history of Lowland Scots, both external and internal, has been assumed; similarly, of the history of education in Scotland. Some areas will be examined in more depth than others, e.g. where evidence was more widely available for some periods, particularly the 19th and 20th C.'s.

The emphasis is linguistic: it is not a survey of Scottish literature in schools although this aspect will naturally be touched upon, but as one of several aspects. Also, we are concerned only with schools in relation to the Lowland Scottish situation: we shall not be including the Highlands and Western Isles where the linguistic history is rather different and, though of no less interest, this would be more appropriately handled by a Celticist. Mackinnon (1977) treats of the situation in Harris but from a sociological standpoint.

The present-day position of Scots language and Scottish literature in schools can be summarised in two quotations, both from recent documents produced from within the Scottish Education System.

"Many social forces have contributed to the continuing elimination of the distinctive elements in the speech of people living in Scotland. The most persistent and conscious opponent of these elements has been the Scottish education system ..."

(Scottish-English, 1980 : 15)

"French children study French literature, German children study German literature, English children study English literature.

In Scotland, things have been different. Scottish children read, in the main, English literature; the place given in the past to Scottish literature has been peripheral and continues to be so in the present."

(Scottish Literature in the Secondary School, 1976 : 2)

Scottish literature includes literature in Scots, of course.

Lowland Scots, spoken or written, has no formal status in Scottish schools at the present day. What might seem to be a natural and important branch of study in the education of Scots schoolchildren, perhaps a sine qua non, has been largely ignored and generally excluded from the syllabus. The Scots speech of pupils has been an object of disfavour and the schools have been widely held responsible for the decline of Scots by attempting to suppress it in favour of Standard English. It will be the purpose of the historical account to examine how and why this situation came about.

The issue of Scots language and literature has been of

much interest in recent years. This was particularly the case during the 1970's when Scottish nationalism was at a modern peak. Generally, there was an interest in and a deal of exploration of Scottish identity in all areas of life with an upsurge of activity in Scottish studies including language and literature. Teachers and educationalists were among the interested parties. Conferences were held and their proceedings published; articles and letters appeared in journals and the press; reports and studies were undertaken.

For some the question of cultural and national identity has been a central problem in the issue of Scots and the schools: a belief that it should be the normal thing for schoolchildren to be taught about their own culture, including their own language(s) and literature. However, in Scotland this matter has been complicated by the problem of what the children's own language and literature are, or ought to be, and how schools have interpreted this.

To what extent, if at all, should there be a Scottish element in the study of language and literature, history, music etc. in Scottish schools, given that Scotland is politically and culturally also a part of the United Kingdom, dominated linguistically and in other ways by her southern neighbour?

In contrast to the situation in schools Scots language and literature have had some tradition of scholarship and attracted academic interest going back to Jamieson's dictionary, if not before. In the last 50 years, major projects, some yet unfinished, have been under way, most notably The Scottish National Dictionary (1931-76), The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, (1931-), The Concise Scots Dictionary (1975-), The Linguistic Survey of Scot-

land (Scots Section), all at Edinburgh. Various studies and theses by individuals have demonstrated interest in these areas of study. Undergraduate study of Scots language has been available (since 1948) at Edinburgh, and at Aberdeen and Glasgow (since the 1960's) (indeed, Glasgow now has a specific lectureship in Scots language) and as a part of English courses. Nor have colleges of education neglected the subject entirely: Scottish literature forms part of the English courses at Moray House, Jordanhill and Aberdeen at least optionally. There has also been some interest among individuals and groups outwith the universities who have given active support to academic work, especially to the two principal dictionaries and to the Survey as readers and informants.

The topic of this survey is Scots language. However, it is necessary to consider what is meant by 'Scots' since this is by no means straightforward. Some current perceptions of Scots generally and in relation to education will be considered briefly and a general model of the present linguistic situation in Lowland Scotland will be set out for reference within the survey.

Traditional descriptions of languages are usually category models. Thus, 'Scots' and 'English' are treated as distinct linguistic entities. Such a dichotomy is a cultural and to some extent nationalistic statement rather than a structural one, though, of course, it has a structural basis in the sense that it is founded on a relatively large set of distinctive linguistic characteristics.

Also, regional and social dialects of 'Scots' may be identified as separate entities.

Such an interpretation permits the following forms of 'Scots' to be identified:

- (1) Rural or Landward Scots - the regional dialects of Scots, spoken in the landward areas of Lowland Scotland, in the farming communities and small towns, historically the most conservative forms of speech in line of descent from Older Scots.
- (2) Urban Demotic Scots - the Scots speech of the urban working class, based on the local regional Scots but also containing nonstandard features of wider than Scottish provenance not found in the most conservative Rural Scots, distinctive pronunciation features, a lower type and token frequency of lexical Scots forms as well as innovations of vocabulary. (See e.g. Aitken, 1979 : 109-10; Murison, 1977 : 56-7; Macaulay, 1977 : 55-6; Agutter and Cowan, 1981 : 61-2)
- (3) Literary Scots - Scots language as used in literature which varies in form through time as well as in provenance.

To these may be added:

- (4) Scottish Standard English - the Standard English spoken by Middle Class Scots which contains Scots idioms and usages and which permits some use of Scots vocabulary. There is some regional variation particularly at the level of accent.

Aitken (1981) has proposed labels which indicate traditional attitudes towards these broad varieties of Scots.

Thus, Landward and most forms of literary Scots which might be supposed to embody the traditional values, culture and history of Scotland in some measure he suggests is for many 'Good Scots'. Urban Demotic Scots, associated with industrial areas with social problems and rooted in the 19th C. Irish Catholic and Highland (and therefore 'alien') immigrations into the cities is commonly held to be 'Bad Scots' or perhaps not 'Scots' at all.

Inevitably such ideas influence the role Scots language is perceived to play or not to play in schools.

There are three broad approaches to the position of Scots in schools. The first is simply stated: Scots has little or no place at all. The linguistic function of the school is to teach pupils to read and write in Standard English and Scots language is either not appropriate in the school as of no educational value and as likely to confuse the pupils as to linguistic norms and so tend to make it more difficult to master 'English', or would divert time and attention which would be spent on English as being linguistically and culturally of most benefit to pupils.

The second approach is the active encouragement of Scots in schools for cultural and nationalistic reasons. The aim is to promote reading of literature in Scots and to encourage writing and speaking of Scots among pupils as a natural medium of self-expression. The hope is that something will be done to sustain and perhaps strengthen the national identity. This would be done alongside the teaching of Standard English and other literatures in English (e.g. English, American).

There are different views on how far this should be taken. A 'weak' form of this approach would be that of a "balanced programme of literary studies" which would "include Scots dialect material". (Scottish Literature in the Secondary School, 1976 : 5) This might also involve the SCE examinations in English with either compulsory or optional questions on Scots language and literature. Given the importance of these examinations in Scottish secondary schools this would probably be a crucial factor for acceptability within the syllabus to both teachers and parents.

A fierce critic of the present situation, J.T. Low, has remarked of the S.C.E. English examination papers:

"Apart from the heading 'Scottish Certificate of Education' you would never suspect these papers were made up in Scotland by Scotsmen for Scottish pupils."

(Low, 1974 : 21)

Against this view it can be argued that while there are usually no specific questions on Scots or its literature the general nature of questions will not always preclude answers about literature in Scots or essays written in Scots. An official of the Scottish Certificate of Education Board, P.C. Kimber, at a Conference on Scots language and the S.C.E. Exams on 18th November, 1978 at Glasgow University, pointed out that in the English papers,

"Scots can be appropriately used in essays in in dialogue and if a candidate wants to assume a persona who speaks in dialect, and can sustain it, then that would be acceptable."

(quoted in 'The Scotsman', 20th November, 1978)

Even so, ability to answer questions on literature in Scots or to write essays using Scots depends on the willing-

ness and enthusiasm of individual teachers or school English departments to deal with these subjects as part of the English class. As matters stand this is the exception rather than the rule.

A 'strong' form of the 'culturalist' approach would be the development of a full-blooded Standard Scots to be taught in schools as part of a bilingual (alongside English) or trilingual (alongside English and Gaelic) national language policy as advocated by McClure (1980), Low (1977).

This would involve:

" ... nothing less than the establishment of an agreed orthography for every word in the language and a set of general spelling rules so that new words can be accommodated; and a formal grammar incorporating rules for all aspects of morphology and syntax."

(McClure, 1980 : 23)

In terms of the examination system a 'strong' approach would be a compulsory section on Scottish literature in the Higher paper as proposed by Lorna Borrowman at the conference mentioned above, or even a separate paper on Scottish Language and Literature. Any moves in this direction would have important implications for the training of teachers.

A third approach is founded on socio-linguistics. The language of the school is identified as Standard English. This favours middle-class children and brings problems for working-class children whose language may be stigmatised and so rejected by the school leading to problems of linguistic insecurity and inarticulacy in formal situations. (Macaulay, 1974; Trudgill, 1975) This

situation is not confined to Scotland or the U.K. Labov (1969) in a study of 'Nonstandard Negro English' in the U.S.A. criticised severely educationalists for devising remedies for the language 'problem' "designed to repair the child, rather than the school". For the sociolinguist the school fails to adjust to the 'real' linguistic situation and pupils who are unable or unwilling to adapt to the linguistic demands of the school are likely to be educational failures. The remedy is to promote a situation where no variety is considered inferior to another. Thus, Trudgill (1975) has argued that Standard English should be confined to written work in the school and that bidialectalism and tolerance of all speech varieties should be encouraged. Within the Lowland Scots situation Aitken (1976) advocates talking and writing about Scots and its history in schools through literature and freedom to the pupils to use their own local speech in the classroom as a basis for promoting better understanding of and tolerance towards all varieties.

The two approaches, the 'cultural' and the 'sociolinguistic' are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, those who seek to promote Scots in cultural and nationalistic terms draw on aspects of the sociolinguistic approach in support of their case. Low (1978) states:

"We are glad to have the support of the sociolinguistic people: we can learn much from them, especially tolerance of sub-standard forms of language."

Referring to the discouragement of Scots in schools and the adoption of Standard English as the sole norm there, McClure (1980) invokes arguments from sociolinguistics.

"It has now come to be recognised, however, by socio-linguists and even by some educationists, that this procedure is grossly inhumane. Inescapably, it results in grave confusion for the children and inhibition of their capacity for expressing themselves, and in disastrous social and cultural disruption for the tribe or nation as a whole."

(McClure, 1980 : 15)

However, the problem here is also seen in terms of national well-being. The argument is raised to a more abstract level. This is reflected also in a perception of Scots by Low (1977).

"Behind the urban dialects, behind Demotic Scots of whatever region, there lies the Scots language that poets still use that ordinary folk in past ages used and that is still to be heard in certain districts today."

This idea of a Scots language "behind" the existing varieties, social and regional, would seem to be akin to the somewhat Platonic notion of what Aitken (1981) calls 'Ideal' Scots. The dialects identified as 'Scots' are partial manifestations of this more perfect linguistic idea. The development of a Standard Scots would seem to be an attempt to 'incarnate' this 'Ideal' Scots. By developing a Standard Scots the aim would be to give Scots language social acceptability and respectability, to enhance its cultural value and so to set up a counterweight to Standard English.

The sociolinguists would argue that those who desire a Standard Scots are missing the point. A Standard Scots would only be an added burden to speakers of nonstandard, Urban Demotic varieties since they would then have two Standard language forms with which to cope. It is standardisation which has been the bane of these speakers: a

Standard Scots would be as divisive educationally, socially and culturally as Standard English is just now, they would argue.

This point has caused some disagreement. At a Conference held on 6th May, 1978 at Craiglockhart College of Education on "The Scots Language in Schools" the concept of a standardised Scots to be used in schools was advocated and found considerable support. It was, however, severely criticised by P. McLaughlin, Adviser in English for Lothian Region Schools, who clearly stood for the sociolinguistic approach. McLaughlin claimed that there was no such thing as a standard language; "phoney" standards had bedevilled schools. One form of speech was as good as another and all forms should be encouraged. ('The Scotsman', May 8th, 1978; TESS, May 12th, 1978). Thus, the sociolinguistic approach was finding favour in one education authority.

Further criticism of the 'standardisers' also came in an editorial in TESS, May 12th, 1978 which argued for a "realistic" policy for Scots in schools. It was claimed:

"Scots will never be more than a secondary language in the classroom because it will never achieve higher status in the world outside."

Nevertheless, all forms of Scots should be encouraged, demotic and literary:

" ... both have a place, and pupils should be encouraged to recognise the worth of both. Not only should they be encouraged to read and write in their second language if they have the interest and facility to do so, but they should be brought up to realize that the lacing of English with good Scots words and idioms gives life to their speech and writings."

The writer does concede that standardisation of orthography and punctuation in Scots texts for use in schools would be

appropriate. On this view, Scots language may be encouraged without resort to a 'Donat' and more in sympathy with the sociolinguistic approach.

From the sample of views presented here it is evident that the issue of Scots language in schools is unsettled and still very open, although the idea of according Scots language and literature a more significant place in the curriculum is finding sympathy and support within the Scottish education system as it is more widely discussed.

What follows seeks to present an account which we hope will lead to a better understanding of the events and trends in Scottish education which led to the present situation and of one aspect of that situation, the attitudes of teachers to Scots forms of language.

Before proceeding further we shall have to decide what we mean here by Scots. Murison (1977) has described the present situation thus:

"Scots and English forms are jumbled up haphazardly so that a clear and consistent pattern can no longer be traced, and a systematic grammar has gone out of the window."

(Murison, 1977 : 56)

If one is thinking in terms of a category model of Scots then such a description may seem appropriate. However, from a structural viewpoint, the present speech situation cannot adequately or sensibly be described in terms of someone speaking either Scots or English, although speakers themselves may believe that they are doing the one or the other. Rather a structural description must be in terms

of speech being more/less Scots or English, that is, in terms of the types and tokens of Scots and English features in a piece of speech. This is the basis of the bipolar model proposed by Aitken (1979) in which the kind of options set out in table 1.1 are available to Scots speakers.

In table 1.1 the linguistic options available to Scots speakers are classified in terms of their historical origins and their form. Of course, this classification presupposes a dichotomy between Scots and English. Those features which are classified as Scots are the subsequent distinctive developments in Scotland of Early Northern Middle English (columns (1) and (2)) and also later innovations. Since Nthn. ME was itself a development from Old English as also was South East and Midland ME out of which Early Modern English arose in the 16th C., and subsequently the present Standard dialect, there is a body of shared linguistic material including lexis but also, importantly, much of the syntax, morphology and phonology (column (3)). Column (3) is the hinge of the system since "it is only these fundamental shared elements which have made possible the merger of the two dialects concerned." (Aitken, 1976 : 48) This "merger" is a result of developments since the late 16th C. Exclusively Standard English options are represented in columns (4) and (5). This, then, is the general structure of the linguistic system operated by most speakers in Lowland Scotland at the present.

Broadly, there are two ways of operating the system. A speaker who in some contexts selected predominantly

Table 1.1 SCOTS

ENGLISH

(1)

Scots lexical
forms, idioms,
etc.

(2)

Cognates of
forms in (4)

(3)

Shared

(4)

Cognates of
forms in (2)

(5)

English
Lexical items
etc.

bairn
lass }
quine)
kirk
speir
poke
stour
them that
.. maks ..
gang
kenspeckle
pit the haimson
tummle wulkies

mare
stane
hame
dee
heid
hoose
loose (n)
braid
louse (adj.)
yaize (v)
yis (n)
auld
barra

before
name
see
tie
tide
black
young
of
winter
is
sit
some
why

more
stone
home
die
head
house
louse (n)
broad
loose (adj.)
use (v)
use (n)
old
barrow

child
girl

church
ask
bag
dust
those who
.. make ...
go
conspicuous
do in
turn somer-
saults
go with (girl)
super
that (demon.)
Social Security
slash
girl

winch
barry
thon (demon.)
buroo
chrb (v)
keelie
hairry
needs + V-ed
no (adv.)
-na (adv.)
mines { poss. pron. }

-fu
aa
dae
bluid
baa

we
sea
leg
king
three
*

full
all
do
blood
ball

needs + V-ing
not (adv.)
-n't (adv.)
mine (poss. pron.)

* most of the syntax and morphology

** phonological system and rules of realisation

(Based on table 6:1 in Aitken (1979 : 86) with variations.)

(i.e. employs a large number of types with a comparatively high token frequency) material from (1) - (3) might be said, or believe himself, to be "speaking Scots", while the same speaker who on other occasions selected predominantly from (3) - (5) might be described as "speaking English". Such a speaker would be "dialect-switching" according to Aitken (op. cit. : 86). The other way is where speakers "shift styles in a less predictable and more fluctuating way." These are termed "style drifters". (ibid.) Their selection of material is much less clear-cut, inconsistent, more variable between one situation and another and also within a given situation.

Unfortunately, we understand very little about how the system operates in detail. Nor has there been developed a satisfactory means of measuring the extent to which speech is Scots for individuals or groups, what criteria to use in counting types and tokens, what emphasis to give to different linguistic levels and how to relate these to external factors, such as formality of context, difference of interlocutors, social class of speakers etc. Some attempts have been made using phonological variables. (Macaulay, 1977 ; Romaine, 1975) Our ideas about how the system operates for the present remain impressionistic.

However, this model will form the basis for thinking about Scots and English in this study. The model has validity historically as well as for the present in terms of the process of anglicisation, the merger process. Thus, when we talk about anglicisation we mean the selection of English types and tokens in preference to Scots ones.

Similarly, the model underlies the attitude test particularly in terms of the concept of markedness.

Items may be marked in various ways: as characteristic of a speech community, regional or social; as appropriate to a given situation, formal or informal; as signalling one's own national or regional identity. They may also be unmarked where the speaker uses them unconsciously as a part of 'normal' linguistic behaviour.

People no doubt vary individually in what is marked or unmarked for them, but, impressionistically, it is possible to hypothesise forms which would be marked or unmarked for various social groups. (cf. Aitken, 1979)

For many middle class people Scots items like 'bramble', 'burn', 'roan', 'pinkie', 'jag', 'swither' may be unmarked, but items like 'barry', 'buroo', 'See' (topicaliser), 'radge', 'chib', 'hairy' would probably be marked as urban working class. For working class speakers these would not be marked within their own community although they may be aware that they are marked outside it, and inappropriate for some situations. Forms like 'kirk', 'bairn', 'winch', 'speir', 'dreich', 'stour', 'poke', 'ken' would be unmarked within the speech community for rural working-class Scots. Some may be used by middle class Scots, 'kirk' and 'dreich' unconsciously perhaps, others consciously as an assertion of national identity on some occasion. Some of these might be possible (i.e. unmarked) for urban working class speakers also.

Where an item is marked for the speaker but is used or approved (i.e. is an acceptable form) it may be said

to be positively marked. Where it is marked but is not used and is not an acceptable form for the speaker it may be said to be negatively marked. This concept will be considered further within the context of Chapter 11.

CHAPTER 2 : THE PERIOD OF OLDER SCOTS

Chapters 2 to 6 offer an historical account of attitudes and policy to Lowland Scots in education, covering the period from the Middle Ages to the present day.

One of the problems facing anyone who undertakes research related to Scottish education is the comparative dearth of detailed information about what went on in schools up until the 19th C. when records became more abundant and informative. When the topic is language in relation to the schools the problem is compounded, particularly when we consider the spoken language. A great deal has to be left to assumption and conjecture. Thus, the accounts for the period of older Scots, taking in the Middle Ages and up until c. 1700, and for the 18th C. are necessarily dealt with in less detail and more speculatively than the later periods. It has been possible to treat the 19th C., particularly the second half, in much greater depth because of the much greater availability of information, and this is also the case, of course, with the 20th C.

The taking over of Scottish education by the State in 1872 has been regarded as the most important factor in the decline of Scots speech by some observers (e.g. McClure, 1975; Withrington, 1974) and the evidence for this view will be assessed here. More generally, this historical survey will attempt to define in different periods attitudes and policy to Scots in speech and writing by seeking to determine where possible the kinds of language which might have been used by pupils and teachers and to what extent

and why these were promoted or discouraged. In doing this the general linguistic background will be taken into account at each stage and the interpretation of Scots and English speech presented in the previous chapter applied.

In Lowland Scotland in the Middle Ages two languages were in general widespread use, Scots¹ and Latin. By Scots in this period is meant that historical variety usually termed Middle Scots, some form of which was the native and everyday language of most people from packman to prince though we know little of the regional or social variation which may have obtained. Scots was also used in many functions as a written language, ousting Latin from some: for example, from 1424 the Acts of Parliament were recorded almost entirely in Scots. It was the medium for a thriving literature most notably in poetry. (See Templeton, 1973)

Latin held an important place in a number of functions: the law, diplomacy, scholarship as well as being the "business" language of the Roman Church.

In medieval Scotland before the Reformation education was, as throughout Europe, the preserve of the Church. Schools were run, or at least supervised, by the cathedrals and religious houses, and the universities were founded, administered and taught by ecclesiastics. The types of school which are identifiable are the 'Inglis' or 'Lectour' school, the 'Sang' school and the 'Grammar' school. In the Inglis/Lectour school was taught the elements of literacy in the vernacular: it was an elementary school. The main function of the sang school, as its title suggests, was to

train choristers. (Durkan, 1962 : 146) At Linlithgow (1543), the chaplain was to

" ... leir the barnis yat will come to him
to syng as other sang schullis usis ..."

(Linlithgow Burgh Court Book, 30th April, 1543)

But in the sang schools the purpose of an elementary school was also served through the teaching of reading and writing and sometimes Latin if only to be read for sacred singing. (Scotland, 1969,(i) : 17) These schools were particularly associated with ecclesiastical establishments, e.g. cathedrals as at Glasgow, St. Andrews, Brechin and Dunkeld and burgh kirks as at Ayr, Crail, Peebles, Edinburgh, Linlithgow and Haddington. (Durkan, 1962 : 168) (Nicholson, 1974 : 13) Grammar schools whose primary function was the teaching of Latin were found in burghs and were not solely linked with cathedrals. There are references in both burgh and ecclesiastical records to grammar (and sang) schools in the 15th and 16th centuries and it has been estimated that grammar schools "... were to be found in most of the Scottish burghs ..." by the fifteenth century. (Nicholson, 1974 : 273) For a substantial list of grammar and sang schools showing where and how widespread they were located in the 16th century see Durkan (1962 : 168).

In the sang schools and sometimes in a lower class of a grammar the basis of literacy in Scots would be taught. There is little explicit statement of what the curriculum in the various schools involved in detail, but there are occasional indications. At the grammar school of Edinburgh (1519) 'barnis' were to be taught " ... allanerlie grace buke prymar and plane donatt ...". (Edinburgh Burgh Records,

(10th Jan., 1519/20); I, (1403-1528): 194) That is, an elementary reader comprising an alphabet and a collection of graces and the Ars Minor of Aelius Donatus, containing the rudiments. (Durkan, 1962: 149) Instruction of the rudiments to beginners must have been in the vernacular. Latin was particularly important for those going further with their schooling than literacy and a full and proper grounding was essential. Its functional importance has been noted and this is further indicated by a parliamentary statute of 1496 which enacted

" ... that all barronis and freholdaris ... put their eldest ... sonnys ... to the scolis ... quhill thai ... have perfite Latyne."

(Acta Parliamentorum, II : 238)

Competence in Latin was necessary for full involvement in the administration of law and the offspring of the landed nobility would be expected to play their part in this eventually " ... sua that thai that ar schireffis or jugeis ordinaris ... may have knowlege to do justice". (Ibid.)

It was not only a matter of learning to read and write Latin but once pupils had acquired the constructions adequately Latin then became the medium of instruction and of all communication and it was forbidden to speak the vernacular. Among the statutes and rules of Aberdeen Grammar School in 1553 one of the several misdemeanours punishable was "vernaculè loquentes". This practice had a positive intention of encouraging greater proficiency in Latin for ability to read, write and speak Latin was essential for university students since there too all instruction and communication was in Latin. For example, at St. Andrews students were expected to speak Latin even on the playing-fields ('campos').

(Acta Facultatis Artium, 26th Nov., 1415) Also, disputations and examinations were conducted in Latin (op. cit. I : lxxxix)

While Scots or 'Inglis' as it was more often called was used in a very wide range of functions, official and literary, formal and informal, yet within the confines of scholarship and serious learning educated Scotsmen seem to have perceived it as inappropriate. Latin, of course, served as the academic lingua franca of Europe:

"The use of Latin as the language of academical life threw open the lecture rooms of a university to every part of Europe."

(Rashdill, 1936, (ii): 233)

Only through the medium of Latin could a scholar hope to gain international recognition among his peers. The use of Scots for a serious prose work instead of Latin seems to have required comment from the author. John Ireland, whose Meroure of Wyssdome (1490) is the earliest extant (partly) original prose work of scholarship in Scots, found it necessary to comment on his use of "... the commoune language of þis cuntre". And he goes on to refer to other works he had written "... in the tongue i know bettir, þat is, Latin". The implication is that he was more accustomed to using Latin in his writings. The author of the Complaynt of Scotland (1550) felt obliged to justify and defend his writing in "scottis", claiming that he did not find it necessary to use words

"...quhilkis ar nocht daly vsit bot rather i hef vsit domestic scottis langage, maist intelligibil for the vlgare pepil ..."

Despite this he had to use some terms borrowed from Latin,

"... be rason that oure scottis tong is nocht sa copeus as is the lateen tong."

He used Scots because he saw his audience as the Scottish people generally (or rather the Lowland part) rather than the narrow world of scholarship, but to express some of the concepts to be used he had to borrow from Latin to provide the terms because Scots, not customarily used for the purpose in hand, lacked them. Finally, we may note Gilbert Skeyne who in Ane Breve Descriptioun of the Pest (1568), written when he was Professor of Medicine at Aberdeen University, addressing the reader observed:

" ... it became me rather (quha has bestouit all my Zouthie in the Sculis) to had vrytin the samin in Latine, Zit vnderstanding sic interpryses had bene nathing profitable to the commoun and vulgar people, thocht expedient and neidfull to express the sam in sic langage as the vnlernit may be als weil satisfyit as Masters of Clargie ..."

It was because Skeyne believed his subject to be of general interest that he presented it in the vernacular rather than in Latin which his education had trained him to use.

Of course the fact that these works and others (including translations from Latin, particularly histories) were written in Scots indicates a breaking down in the 16th C. of Latin's supremacy. The use of the vernacular for prose writings on serious topics, particularly those of a more general interest than academic esoterica, was evidently becoming a more acceptable practice, and no doubt further enhanced the status of the vernacular.

The Reformation and the succession of James VI to the English throne resulted in the growing influence of Southern (Metropolitan) English as a result of the closer political and, initially, religious relationship with England.

One of the consequences was that in the written language a fully fledged "high" Scots prose did not develop before the influence of Southern English began to bear. The reformed church used an English translation of the Bible and an English Psalter so that the Word of God in Scotland was now enshrined in English as opposed to Latin as before and not in Scots. From this no doubt developed the idea that serious matters and affairs, like religion, should be conducted in English or in as anglicised a style as possible.

In the 17th C. very early the printed word rapidly became Southern English; indeed, Scottish printers even " ... abandoned the native spelling tradition altogether for an imported English one". (Aitken, 1971 : 198) In manuscript writings there was a much more gradual process of anglicisation, extending through the 17th C. and into the early part of the 18th. The process might very broadly be described as a shift from a fairly full Scots through an anglicised Scots to a Scotticised English. That is, writers were coming more and more to choose the English word or orthographic form in preference to the Scots one. (See Aitken, 1971, 1979; MacQueen, 1957).

The speech of ordinary Scotsmen remained fairly fully Scots, that is, there was a continued preference for Scots types with a high token frequency at all linguistic levels. (cf. Aitken, 1979 : 90) There are indications, however, that educated Scotsmen were anglicising their speech for some occasions at least. Ministers apparently adopted a more English style in their preaching, a Biblical register of English. Richard James, an Englishman, visiting Orkney

c. 1615 remarked:

"Tis nothing strange to heare them [~~The~~ ministers]
in the churches leave their text and raille in
person against this or that man and speake plaine
Scots wordes against those whoe set in their
stoole of repentence."

(Orkney Miscellany, 1953,(1) : 51)

The implication is that in preaching from their text, where the subject required a dignified, formal style of language, the ministers avoided "plaine Scots wordes" but in directly addressing individuals they reverted to a familiar, presumably their "normal", Scots style. That some ministers were not fully anglicised even at the end of the 17th C. is suggested by "The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence" (1692) in which ministers were ridiculed by episcopalians for Scotticisms in their sermons. However, in "An Answer" to this the use of "our Dialect" was defended because it allowed the sermons to be better understood by the people. Nevertheless, pressure to anglicise is apparent. Also at the upper end of the social scale, among the nobility and gentry, there is evidence that they sought to acquire something approaching a full Southern English variety of speech, although some may have operated as dialect switchers or even style drifters. Aitken (1979) concludes,

" ... the overall impression must be that the sixteenth century situation in which all Scots simply spoke native Older Scots had been superseded by a new situation. In this the formal or ... "polite" speech of the social elite of Scotland was now expected to approximate to the Southern English dialect."

(Aitken, 1979 : 93)

In the late 16th C. and during the 17th C., because of the importance now being given to education as a result of the Reformation, as a means of according the people access to the Word of God through literacy, much effort was directed to the provision of schools, notably those termed variously in local and church records Inglis, Scottis, Lectour, Vulgare, Letter or Writting schools, (see D.O.S.T.), wherein the elements of literacy in the vernacular were taught. That the curriculum was still fairly basic in these schools, which in some cases formed a lower department in a grammar school, is apparent. At Aberdeen in 1607 there is reference to a "wryttyng schoole ... for instructing of the youth in writing and arithmetik allanerlie." (Aberdeen Burgh Records, II : 294) At Stirling in 1620 there was appointed a "doctour ... for teaching of the Ingleshe reding and writting ...". (Stirling Burgh Records, I : 155) And this is typical of the references found.

In the grammar schools Latin remained the staple of instruction. The practice of forbidding the vernacular to be spoken in the Latin class seems to have persisted well into the 17th C. Article IV of the regulations of Dundee Grammar School in 1674 required,

"That nane of the Latin Schollars who have learned their constructions be permitted to speak english wtin or wtout the schools to the Masters or any of the Condisciples sub poena etc., and that ther be clandestine Captors for that effect ..."

(cited in Stephenson, 1973 : 37)

And this was still the case in the universities also. At Edinburgh in 1628 it was demanded that students at the university "... speik Latine and that nane be fund speiking

Scottes." (Edinburgh Burgh Records, VII : 291) At Glasgow in 1664 it was decreed that " ... all the scholars speake Latine" and censors were to " ... observe these who doe otherwayes." Punishments were to be exacted " ... upone all who speak Scotts ...". (Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis, II : 482)

Since this practice had been current in the previous century these re-assertions of the regulation in the various establishments suggest that it constantly required re-enforcing because students were too prone to lapse into the vernacular and, indeed, the temptation to use their "natural" tongue rather than the artificial Latin must have been great especially amongst those whose Latinity was not of a high standard.

The references to 'English' in the title of some schools was not significant at this period, since what we now refer to as Scots or Older Scots continued to be known, as formerly, as 'Inglis' much of the time. Certainly references to "English" schools in the burghs are common. In Stirling in 1612 the doctor of the grammar school was to teach the "bairns" to read the 'Inglis' tongue. At Dunbar in 1621 there was an 'Englische school" and in 1690 writing and English were still being taught there. There were English schools in Aberdeen in 1662; English was being taught in Wigtown in 1686 and in Kirkcaldy in 1707. (Grant, 1876 : 389)

However, at the same time there are frequent references to "Scots" in the same context. The curriculum at George Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh in 1627 sought to teach

"the scholars to read and write Scots distinctly." In Glasgow, in 1654 there were supplications to the Burgh council to take up "Scots schools". Scots was being taught in the grammar school at Ayr in 1673 and 1682. In 1655 Scots and writing were in the curriculum of the grammar schools at Peebles and at Paisley. There was a Scots school at Musselburgh in 1679 and in 1686 Scots was being taught in Stranraer. ^(Ibid.) The regulations of the school at Dundonald, Ayrshire, in 1640 refer to "them who learn Scots", "all the children learning Scots", and "reading Scottish". (Hutchison, 1973 : 27-30)

As late as 1719 the two terms were still being used indiscriminately even in reference to the same school in the same portion of record:

"The inhabitants humblie judged their young children, as weall boys as girles, were at extream loss as to their being taught English by reason of the old age of Andrew Matson, Scots doctor, and that the girles cannot be conveniently sent to the grammer school to learn their English The council ... consider what will be the most proper way for effectuating so good a design, and disjoining the Scots class from the gramer school with as little prejudice to Mr Darline, schoolmaster, as possible, with respect to his dues out of the Scots class, and to cause try out for a sufficient and fitt person for teaching English."

(Hutchison, 1973 : 57)

This extract is taken from the Records of the Burgh of Stirling (Vol. 2, Aug. 23, 1718). A later extract for Jan. 10th, 1719 states:

" ... they decide not to disjoin but to continue the Scots or English classe in the gramer school as formerly ... But the councill also considering that it is necessare ane other Scots school be appointed for teaching the young ... to read English ... they appoint ane other Scots school to the end forsaid."

(Ibid.)

The language of these extracts is worth noting being

fairly typical of public writings of the period, largely English in form but containing a number of Scots forms, showing especially a maintenance of some traditional orthographic forms (e.g. doubled final consonants) or Scots use of adopted English spellings (ea), but also a peculiarly Scots lexical form, necessare. This style, a Scotticised English to a greater or lesser degree, is to be met with in Burgh Records and Court Records of the time.

Was this, then also the form of the vernacular taught in the schools during the 17th C.? The Dundonald Regulations (1640) refer to " ... reeding Scottish, whether print or writ ..." so that it was not only printed material that was used, and the "writ" can only have been of local origin, perhaps exercises set by the schoolmaster. Can anything be determined about the written language of schoolmasters specifically?

In a study of the anglicisation of Scots prose in the first half of the 18th C., MacQueen (1957) examined among her materials the records of Kirk Sessions which were written in the main by schoolmasters who frequently 'doubled' as session clerks. She concluded that in their writings schoolmasters:

" ... retain some traditional Scots forms, spellings and inflections in the early eighteenth century, their mixed style deriving from both Scots and English traditions, but after c. 1715, when the National Records, and many writers of letters and memoirs, are ceasing to use many of the old conventions of writing, the schoolmasters have less opportunity of becoming familiar with these old conventions and they, also, begin to discard them." ²

(MacQueen, 1957 : 194-5)

Macqueen notes that there is no evidence of ignorance of English among the educated and professional Scots of the first half of the 18th C., including schoolmasters, and among these familiarity with printed English would increase as the century went on, influencing their own writing. She further remarks:

"Schoolmasters who continued writing over a long period showed, of course, the normal Anglicising tendencies in all types of Scotticism ..."

(op. cit. : 172)

Their own style of writing the teachers passed on to their pupils we presume.

The printed word was represented importantly in the curriculum in Scripture and the Catechisme. The schoolmaster at Peebles in 1649 was instructed

" ... to give the bairnes learning Scottis each of them ane portioun of psalmes or catechisme and give ane compt therof vpon Sunday ..."

(Peebles Burgh Records : 387)

Thus, pupils learning "Scottis" were taught the language of the Bible and of the catechisme which was not, in fact, Scots at all. The fact that "Scots" and "English" were not apparently distinguished as linguistic entities in the schools, and outwith them also presumably, suggests that people perceived them as one and the same, as had been the case formerly, at least as far as the written language was concerned.

About the spoken language in schools we do not know and can only conjecture. Although teachers may have been able to anglicise their spoken language, like the ministers,

it is likely that pupils and teachers shared a fairly full Scots variety of speech. Certainly, among the gentry and educated people unease with Scots forms of speech which was to become something of a neurosis by the mid 18th C. was apparent at the end of the 17th C. Nevertheless, a fairly full Scots presumably remained the everyday spoken tongue for most people in Lowland Scotland, even allowing for the availability of more English options compared with two or three generations before. While it would have been possible to become familiar with printed and written English as writings of the period show was happening, opportunities for hearing, much less using a fairly full English style for most people would be few. They would have been most familiar with an English style from the pulpit but even here it would have been with a Scots accent and with other Scots features of lexis and grammar. Given this, to communicate with school-children it is very likely that teachers would have used a Scots style whatever their capability to anglicise, since that is what the children were familiar with. This seems to have been the pattern in later periods, as will be shown below, and it is a reasonable conjecture that this was the case also during the 17th C.

CHAPTER 3 : THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY : c. 1730 - c. 1800

In the linguistic history of Scotland the second half of the 18th century is marked particularly by the efforts of many educated and professional Scots to acquire and to cultivate a brand of Standard English. English had become the language of contemporary scholarship in 18th century Scotland. The public presentations of the intellectual activity that characterised the Enlightenment were in English, although vernacular Scots continued to be the birth-tongue of their authors as it was, indeed, of the vast majority of Lowlanders in the 18th century. Withrington (1974 : 10-11) rightly cautions:

" ... that we must beware of making too much of the reported or repeated speech and expression of the 18th and earlier 19th centuries, and be readier to appreciate that it may mislead us about the place or the strength of at least spoken Scots among the professional and educated groups."

The extent to which English was spoken by these people is difficult to assess. In the universities Latin had been giving way to English as the language of instruction, Frances Hutcheson having been attributed the first to deliver lectures in English at Glasgow in the 1730's (Murray, 1927 : 144), though what kind of English in the actual performance we do not know. Rather later Dugald Stewart wrote of Principal Robertson that while his written work was free from Scotticisms;

" ... his pronunciation and accent were strongly marked with the peculiarities of his country."

(Stewart, 1801 : 194)

Some of those who taught in the universities were much concerned with their pronunciation, it seems. John Osborne, an Englishman visiting Edinburgh during 1775 remarked on:

" ... the Professors of the College who, in their lectures strive to shake off the Scotch pronunciation as much as possible."

(Osborne, 1775 : 55)

Is there an implication that outwith the setting of their lectures the "professors" were less particular about their speech? Anecdotal evidence of the period suggests that Scots forms were used in the speech of the educated professional classes, the lawyers, ministers, academics etc. Nevertheless, an enthusiasm for adopting English as a spoken and a written language is an undoubted fact.

That English seems to have been accorded a formal recognition in some schools in the mid-18th C. is indicated by the introduction into Scotland of the "new method" of teaching it. This seems to have been proposed initially by a Mr Rollins, an Englishman. Reference to it in Scotland is first made in an advertisement for a book by John Warden in 1737 in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 23rd June, 1737. The "new method" apparently involved teaching English by studying formal grammar and by reading texts, often aloud. Warden's book included passages from the Spectator, Tatler and Guardian. Thus, English was to be acquired in a much more systematic way, following the same principles and applying the same rigour as with Latin.

The question arises to what extent emphasis was placed on spoken English. If it was to be taught after the manner

of Latin, did it at any stage become the medium of instruction or communication? Or, did Scots remain the spoken language of the classroom? From what we know of the general linguistic situation in the mid-18th C. and on the basis of later evidence presented below, the latter situation seems the more likely. Though some private schools particularly in Edinburgh did seek to ban Scots. (See below p. 41)

The "new method" appears to have found some favour in the Burgh schools. At Dundee in 1749 in the English school it was the opinion of the examining committee including the rector of the grammar school

"that it would be an advantage to that school that ... the masters thereof would teach the Boyes ... after the Modern Method ..."

(cit. in Stephenson, 1973 : 34)

There are other references in burgh records to teachers being appointed to teach English "after the new method" as at Irvine in 1746 and at Banff in 1762 and in 1738 the English teacher at Ayr was dismissed because he was "not known in the 'new method'". (Grant, 1873 : 391) Thus, the method was being adopted over a period of years in widely different parts of the country, suggesting that it was finding success and approval as a teaching method.

So far as the evidence goes, the method was established in the burgh schools in the main. Its significance is that it helped to establish a full standard English as the language of literacy in many Scottish schools, even if it cannot be ascertained what influence it may have had on the spoken language of the classroom.

The successful implementation of the "new method" must have depended on the availability of suitable books and certainly Warden's book had successors, (see Law, 1959 : 228), e.g. The Edinburgh New Method of Teaching English (1750) by R. Godskirk and J. Hume. Also, among the numerous aids to learning English (and avoiding Scots), the lists of Scotticisms and pronouncing dictionaries, there were not a few by Scotsmen, sometimes schoolteachers, who saw a market for their labours in the schools. Among these were James Buchanan's Linguae Brittanicae Vera Pronunciato, (London, 1757) " ... designed for the Use of Schools." Indeed, he complained about the accent of the people in North Britain and begged leave to recommend the work to

" ... all teachers of youth in that part of the United Kingdom."

(op. cit. : XV)

The introduction contains "practical observations on the powers and various sounds of the vowels and consonants, both single and double." (op. cit. : 8-14) He distinguishes between "accent", by which he means 'stress', and pronunciation, illustrating it with

"clī'ent, soci'ety, vari'ety, canonī'ze, sympathī'ze etc., etc., which the Scots accent the same way as the English; but the former pronounce thus, cleee-ent, soccee-ety, varee-ety, veeolent, canon-eeze, sympathheeze."

(op. cit. : X)

This system of pronouncing is indicated by spellings, thus ee- represents /i:/. However, in the dictionary itself the words are presented in normal orthography with stress marked, the grammatical category (noun, verb, etc.)

shown, and a definition.

John Burns's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language (first published in Glasgow in 1777 with a second edition in 1786, which suggests a measure of popularity) sets out a system of pronunciation giving each orthographic vowel letter numbers according to how they are pronounced in a set of exemplar words. Thus, in the dictionary each entry shows the words orthographically with the vowel(s) marked with the appropriate number:

e.g. Al⁵ter a¹²ti on , n the act of changing.
That is, according to the scheme, 5 as in what, 12 as in care. (op. cit. : 5)

A similar system is set out, but in more detail, in A General View of English Pronunciation (Edinburgh, 1784), probably by William Scott, an Edinburgh schoolmaster.

Part of his scheme for the vowels is:

a	h ¹ at	h ² ate	h ³ all
e	b ¹ et	b ² ear	b ³ eer
i	f ¹ it	f ² ine	f ³ ield
o	n ¹ ot	n ² ote	n ³ oose
u	b ¹ ut	b ² ush	c ³ ure
y	lovely ¹	fly ²	

where the different pronunciations of the orthographic vowels are set out in the form of a numbered key based on exemplar words, so ¹a will be pronounced as in 'hat'. Of course, the system depends on the reader's knowledge of how the example words are intended to be pronounced. Effectively it is a system of contrasts and, indeed, the author uses it to point out differences between Scots and

English speakers:

" ... the former confound the ¹a with ¹e, as bad for bed, and back again, as hebit for habit; ¹e with ¹i, as fet for fit; bliss (made a verb) for bless, rid for red; ¹o short with ²o long, as lo-ng for long, and most for mo-st."

(op. cit. : 2)

Because, according to Scott, Scotsmen pronounce 'long' with the vowel of 'note' and 'most' with the vowel of 'not', we can infer that he is criticising a Scotsman's rendering of an imagined English pronunciation of Standard English long and most and not Scots lang and maist which could not be confused. Since many Scots accents do not have in their systems two back rounded vowels corresponding to the contrast /ɒ/, /oʊ/ in RP but only one many Scots speakers had problems in distinguishing between words like cot and coat, clock and cloak, or they distinguished them in the wrong way, [ʊ] for cot, [ɔ] for coat. (Aitken, 1979 : 102-3) This is what Scott has in mind here no doubt. Nor is the problem resolved for the Scottish reader by Scott's system unless he can distinguish correctly the qualitative difference between the vowels in not and note. Such pronouncing dictionaries were readily open to misinterpretation unless someone was on hand who knew what pronunciations were intended. The value of such dictionaries may have been less as guides to accurate "correct" pronunciation of English than as straightforward vocabularies. The last mentioned, Scott's "General View" contained a number of passages to be read aloud, including translations in Standard English of Cicero, Letters of Swift and Pope and extracts from 'The Spectator'.

This does suggest that consideration was expected to be given to pronunciation and therefore to the spoken language. Texts in readers were to be read aloud and presumably this was how one was supposed to learn to pronounce English in an acceptable way.

Buchanan also produced a British Grammar (London, 1762) which was set out like a traditional Latin grammar with questions and answers on the various elements, "What is a noun? A noun is ..." etc. A method for using it was outlined where the pupil was to write out sections several times to help him learn the material and then he would be questioned by the master following the pattern of the book. Thus, one acquired the principles of English grammar in the same manner as one acquired those of Latin.

Whether these works found their way into Scottish schools to any significant extent is not clear. It might be expected that the better supplied and more prestigious schools in Edinburgh and the other cities and larger burghs would comprise the main market for such works. Scotland (1969, i : 66) points out:

"Money was never plentiful in Scotland, even after the Industrial Revolution, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pupils had to use such textbooks as they could get, which meant almost invariably the 'Book' and the 'Carritches'".¹

Of course, these were in a register of Standard English and this literary variety was probably the form of English with which pupils would have been most familiar, in print, through hearing it read aloud and, indeed repeating it when called upon.

A source of evidence for the state of Scotland generally at the end of the 18th C. is the First or Old Statistical Account (OSA), compiled on a parish by parish basis (1791 - 99).² This includes some information on both the language situation and the schools. The return for Campsie in Stirlingshire gives a description which may be taken as fairly representative of the curriculum of a parish school in Lowland Scotland at that time:

"The inhabitants of the parish are, upon the whole, rather disposed to give their children a good education; at the time this account was wrote, there were thirteen Latin scholars at the two parish schools; the other children are certain of being taught to read English, write and cost accounts; the common style of education is carried on in the following manner: They learn the sounds of the letters, and the union of syllables, in the small spelling books; then they receive the large spelling book; then they get the New Testament, and the Bible, in which they commonly read some time, and then the Collection,³ they get a question in the Common Catechism every morning ..."

(OSA, XV : 371)

It may be noted that the children are taught "to read" English and there is no specific mention of teaching it to be spoken. In the main it would seem to have been spoken only in reading aloud and repetition, the pronunciation presumably depending to some extent on that of the teacher, which would be in a Scots accent.

In the parish schools at the end of the 18th century, then, education for most was restricted to reading, writing and arithmetic. Some, the academically abler, would learn Latin. Only in the larger Burgh schools and in the new academies as at Perth and Dundee would a wider range of subjects be available. In some schools, at least, literacy seems to have been widely attained. For example, at

Birse (Aberdeenshire)

" ... Few in the parish have been bred to letters, yet none are illiterate."

(OSA, IX : 122)

And at Dailly (Ayrshire),

" ... there is scarcely an individual in the parish who has not been taught to read or write English."

(OSA, X : 53)

If ready availability of some sort of schooling throughout Lowland Scotland by the end of the 18th C. be granted as fact, then a consequent widespread literacy was to be expected, even if,

" ... the almost universal and intelligent literacy of the Lowlands..."

that Smout (1969 : 450) claims was not quite attained. Certainly, the general attitude to education reported in the OSA is generally very positive and reflects the respect and enthusiasm for it which is supposedly a trait of the Scottish character.

That English realised in a more or less 'southern' accent was unfamiliar and not highly regarded among the pupils in the latter part of the century is implied by Cockburn who wrote of the Edinburgh High School at the end of the 1780's,

"Among the boys, coarseness of language and manners was the only fashion. An English boy was so rare, that his accent was openly laughed at."⁴

(Memorials : 10-11)

Some establishments did go out of their way to discourage Scots speech altogether for the better acquirement of English. Mr Telfair of London advertising his private

English school in Edinburgh stated that:

"Great care is taken that no Scotch may be spoken."

(Edinburgh Evening Courant, 16th Sept., 1772)

But, from what may be conjectured from the evidence of the situation as a whole, this was probably untypical of the majority of schools. This type of school was found mainly in Edinburgh and usually run by an Englishman to provide a "pure" example of Southern English which the existing Scottish schools presumably did not provide. It seems to have been part of the vogue to acquire an Augustan style of English which was desired by the upper and professional middle classes, and so these schools were primarily for their children. In the adventure schools run by tradesmen and in the dame schools the speech was almost certainly the everyday Scots variety of the locality, with nothing approaching a full English in lexis and grammar other than that of the Bible and Catechisms, ever used at all.

The OSA, referred to above, reveals something of how some educated Scotsmen viewed the status and condition of Scots speech in the last decade of the 19th C. in a general way, and also in relation to education.

While there was agreement in the returns for Lowland parishes, that the language spoken was 'Scots' under some designation or another, among the general descriptions one particular idea is worth noting. The Rev. Mr Johnstone of Crossmichael (Dumfries) stated:

"The language spoken here is neither English nor Scottish, but a mixture of both."

(OSA, I : 182)

And at Mortlach (Banff),

"The language is a dialect of the Scottish and English blended together."

(OSA, II : 114)

The same description is found in the accounts for Dunlop (Ayrshire) (OSA, IX : 543), Kilmadock (Perthshire) (OSA, XX : 53). The account for Dalmeny (Midlothian) suggests that this situation was progressive and also a recent phenomenon:

"The Dano-Saxon [i.e. Scots] has continued to be spoken in the greater part of Scotland, and particularly what is called the Lowlands, with little deviation from the original, till near the present time, in which it has been giving place very rapidly to the modern English language."

(OSA, I : 228)

The ministers at Mauchlin (Ayrshire) (OSA, II : 114) and Drainy (Moray) (OSA, IV : 87) perceived this process in their areas as "gradual" rather than rapid. From these observations we may conclude that two distinct linguistic entities, 'Scots' and 'English' were recognised to have existed at some time in the past in these communities but now were perceived not to be so distinct: what was being spoken was thought not to be as fully Scots as once it had been, but a Scots influenced by English. This is a change of view since the 16th and 17th C.'s where 'Scots' and 'English' were not usually seen as separate entities but more often than not as the same. It was noted above that in the 17th C. 'Scots' and 'English' as such were not distinguished in the schools. However, with the adoption in the 18th C. of a full Standard English as the formal written language of Scotland there now existed a norm of

correctness in language for both speech and writing. Scots speech was recognised to differ from this in many respects but in others to be the same. There is no doubt some truth in the belief that speech was becoming more "English", at least in some circumstances. It must be remembered that, outwith the school, most of the available reading material, books, pamphlets, newspapers were in Standard English. Discussion of the issues of the day, even in a Scots style, would increasingly involve the adoption and use of some English words and phrases: the subject-matters of theology, philosophy, science, political and economic affairs, for example, were cast in and experienced through the medium of Standard English. However, an apparent trend in one direction towards one state implies a previous state away from which the trend is moving, that is, in this case, the speech of ordinary Scotsmen was becoming more 'English' which implied that it was once much more, even fully, Scots. The picture in fact becomes exaggerated so that not only was the past state perceived as 'more Scots' than it was now, but as 'more Scots' than it actually had been previously. There was now a belief among some people that there once existed a "pure" or "Ideal" Scots (cf. Aitken, 1981) but which now no longer did so.

What is of particular relevance here is that the anglicising process was perceived to be consequent, in part, on education. At Dron (Perthshire), where the language spoken was "Scotch with a provincial accent or tone",

"The language of all ranks, however, is improving by a more liberal education, and a more extensive intercourse with society."

(OSA, IX : 478)

A similar view was expressed of the situation in Bellie (Moray) where, although "that dialect of English common to the North of Scotland" was recorded as spoken,

" ... among all persons who pretend to anything like education, the English language is daily gaining ground."

(OSA, XIV : 264)

The schoolmaster wrote the return for King's Muir - Dunino and he gave a forthright opinion of the language there, commenting:

" ... that the vulgar dialect is remarkably exempted from the corruptions that abound on the coast, as well as from many of those Scotticisms and uncouth phrases, so peculiar to many other places, whose inhabitants lay claim to a higher degree of refinement ..."

(OSA, XI : 370)

The absence of these undesirable characteristics is attributed to the proximity of St. Andrews United Colleges (i.e. the university). Here, then, is one schoolmaster who deprecated the current Scots speech and who also saw education as an influence on it for the better. Does this mean that the Dunino schoolmaster discouraged Scots speech in his classroom? Since he referred to St. Andrews as Alma Mater, it might be wondered if his attitude was typical of university educated schoolteachers. Certainly, many of the ministers writing on language in the OSA displayed a hostile attitude to Scots. The City of Aberdeen was also thought to have benefited from being "the seat of a university", as well as from "much greater intercourse with

the English". (OSA, XIX : 182)

Thus, while not the sole factor, education was considered to play some role in the "improvement" of the spoken language, that is, in furthering the progress of Standard English options as against native Scots ones for some purposes.

Summing up so far, from what may be conjectured on the basis of the somewhat limited evidence available, which more than often is unrevealing in specifics, a full Standard English seems to have been established in schools and confirmed as the language of literacy from the second quarter on, a culmination of the trend from the anglicised Scots and scotticised English of the 17th and early 18th C.'s. The teaching of English, in the burgh schools seems to have become far more systematic and formalised, apparently following in some respects the *modus operandi* of the Latin class.

Latin continued to be the major subject for those taking their education beyond the three R's, particularly if university and beyond that, a profession, was the goal. The status of Latin in the schools does not seem to have suffered and it retained its central place in a Scottish education.⁵ This situation seems to have obtained into the 19th C.

Concerning the spoken language in the schools it is a reasonable assumption that teachers and pupils took into the classroom and used there their own native Scots style, but to what extent the spoken language was anglicised, whether "speaking English" went beyond vocalising the printed word, is not possible to say, as evidence is lacking.

But that some teachers, perhaps in the burgh schools particularly, may have sought to use English forms more widely and frequently must remain the probability.

Finally, if conjecture, supposition and even assumption have coloured this account too highly so far, the dearth of informative material made this unavoidable. The significance of this period in the general history of Scots meant that it could not be ignored. The account for the 19th C., where more evidence becomes available, may shed some more light retrospectively.

CHAPTER 4 : THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : 1800 - 1872

The 19th C. was an important period for Scottish education. The second half, particularly, saw major changes: government was taking an increasing interest, instituting enquiries, establishing state inspection, and eventually taking overall control of schools; there were also attempts to reform the universities on an Oxbridge model.¹ For the present study an important aspect of this growing involvement of the state is that it resulted in a body of records concerning all facets of education, including expressions of attitude and policy to Scots and English, spoken and written.

The notion expressed in the OSA that the speech of ordinary Lowlanders was less "Scots" than it had been is also found in the New Statistical Account of Scotland (NSA) (1845) which followed the pattern of its predecessor. The writers perceived a further recession of Scots features and an advance of English ones within "the last forty years", i.e. since the OSA.

The writer of the account for Dumfries commented:

"The language universally spoken by the lower ranks is the Lowland Scotch, which has, however, within the last forty years, lost much of its national peculiarity, many words which were then used having now become obsolete."

(NSA, IV : 16)

As before, this recession of Scots features is frequently adjudged an "improvement" as at Paisley, where it was remarked of the language:

"Like that of other parts of the country, it may be said to have its provincialisms; but upon the whole, these are less marked than they once were, and within the last forty years, the

"language of the natives may be said to be much improved."

(N.S.A., VII : 251)

By "improved", of course, is meant anglicised. This idea of loss of Scots features being an "improvement" within the last few decades is recorded in other accounts, e.g. Larbert (Stirlingshire) (NSA, VIII : 365), Alvah (Banff) (NSA, XIII : 165), Mains and Strathmartine (Forfar) (NSA, XI : 58), in accounts written independently over several years so that this view may be said to have been widespread. In the last instance it was observed also:

"... a number of trades-people speak English with considerable propriety."

(Ibid.)

This would indicate a more widespread use of some variety of English or anglicised Scots in society generally. There is reference also to the language of "the young" in particular having "improved" as at Lanark:

"Within the last forty years the language of the people has improved much, and especially of late among the young."

(NSA, VI : 19)

Henry Cockburn, observing over the same period also perceived a recession of Scots. Writing in the Journal, he noted a difference in the speech of "the people" and "the gentry". While the speech of the people was still Scots, yet

"There are more English words and less of the Scotch accent and idion."

(Journal, II : 88)

But among the gentry it was "receding shockingly". He

declared,

"Scotch has ceased to be the vernacular language of the upper classes."

(Ibid.)

The suggestion is of a language generation gap at all levels of society, but particularly at the upper end. In the course of two generations, since the end of the 18th C. to c. 1840, a perceptible diminution of Scots features and a more widespread adoption of English ones was believed to have occurred in general speech, with those in the middle to upper and educated classes seeking to eschew Scots as far as possible.

Also over this period radical social change was taking place as a result of the increasing pace of industrialisation, with the influx of population into the cities, towns and areas of manufacture. For example, in 1755 the population of Glasgow was 23,000, in 1801 it was 77,000, but by 1831 it had escalated to 202,000 (Smout, 1969 : 367). Expansive growth in population affected most of the large towns in Scotland. It has been estimated that in 1851 in the ten main towns of Scotland only 47% of the inhabitants had been born there so that more than half were incomers. (Ferguson, 1978: 229) These came from the surrounding rural hinterland, and, in the West of Scotland and Glasgow especially, there were large numbers of Highlanders and Irish who were, of course, non-Scots speakers. The linguistic consequence of the coming together of this mixer-maxter of people was the emergence during the 19th C. of the urban demotic varieties of Scots-English among manual workers and their families. Indeed, it was termed variously Glasgow Irish,

Factory Irish and Factory Scotch. This speech was, and still is, the object of particularly virulent condemnation.² In the Crawford Manuscript as early as c. 1840, it was described as,

"... a Babylonish dialect, both in idiom and in accent ... The tone is a shocking drawl or draunting."

(Crawford MS, c. 1840 : 290)

The first half of the 19th C. was clearly a period of continuing change in language as in other matters.

A question for the present study is to what extent, if at all, education may be held responsible for the trend of anglicisation. Certainly, a number of the writers of the NSA returns believed that education was partly a cause of the anglicisation, equated, as we have seen, with "improvement" in Scots speech. For example, the writer of the account for Kilconquhar (Fife) claimed that this situation was:

"... owing chiefly to our having good schools, and the youth being in general better educated."

(NSA, IX : 330)

And it was observed in Elgin (Moray):

"A more extended education and better qualified instructors have of late generally improved the language of the operative classes."

(NSA, XIII : 11)

Thus, the pattern of change observed at the end of the 18th C. in the OSA seems to have continued.

An article in The Scottish Educational and Literary Journal for December, 1852 on "The Scotch Accent" offered an account of the language situation in mid-century and attempted to evaluate the role of teachers in shaping it,

past, present and future. The unnamed author saw a shift away from Scots to English in the speech of educated people, with Scots forms "rapidly disappearing" and also change having taken place particularly in "accent". Teachers, it was claimed, had contributed to this:

"Hence - and it is highly creditable to Scottish teachers - there are two accents in Scotland, two styles of speech - one which is set apart for public occasions and one for domestic uses."

(op. cit.: 99)

It may be supposed that this variation went beyond accent only. The reference to "two styles" would imply this since the use of one "accent" rather than the other would be bound up inextricably with other linguistic features, lexical, morphological, and syntactic. One style would have been largely English in form (i.e. with a high ratio of English types and tokens and a low Scots one) and the other more Scots (i.e. with a higher ratio of Scots types and tokens than the English style).

The greatest variation in style was to be found among educated and professional people like clergymen and particularly lawyers, the extent to which these had dealings with the general public being a crucial factor.

"Unless there is a change in the body of the people, the clergyman cannot with propriety divest himself entirely of the home accent, as it appeals more forcibly to the hearts of the people."

(op. cit.: 99)

Lawyers, apparently, were able to anglicise more fully because they did not usually address the public unless it was a jury, in which case,

" ... an address savouring strongly of Scotch is not unpalatable."

(ibid.)

That this may have been the case with teachers at this time can be inferred from another observation. In advocating that teachers should be able to speak correctly (i.e. speak English) as well as read correctly, as one means of furthering "improvement" in general speech through the school, it was remarked:

"The importance of correctness in discourse should be insisted on, for it is a common thing in Scotland for a teacher to read correctly and talk indifferently. His pronounciation of a passage of poetry may be fine; but his explanation of its beauties is in a different dialect."

(op. cit. : 100)

Teachers with a young audience not very familiar with Standard English may well have used a familiar Scots style in addressing their charges. This further supports the view, expressed above of the 18th C., that, generally, "speaking" English was confined to the reading style while the didactic tongue remained more fully Scots. Nevertheless, the English reading style taught in schools presumably was intended to lay the foundation of, and may well have helped to engender, a more anglicised style of speech.

While the author of "The Scotch Accent" looked forward to a further period of anglicisation with the schools playing their part, already in the first half of the 19th C. there seems to have been a conscious effort made in some schools to promote English. Cockburn (Journal, II : 88) lamented:

" ... there are Scotch schools (the Edinburgh Academy, for example) from which Scotch is almost entirely banished, even in the pronounciation of Greek and Latin ..."

Indeed, there was a heated debate about the pronunciation of Latin at the recently opened Edinburgh Academy in 1827, as to whether the Scots or English pronunciation should be taught. In defence of introducing the English pronunciation, the Academy directors claimed that,

" ... their only, or at least their chief object in introducing the English pronunciation of Latin was to facilitate the pronunciation of the English language ..."

The teaching of English literature, it was claimed,

" ... including a proper English articulation and accent, has always been one of the main objects of this Academy."

(cit. in Magnusson, 1974 : 116)

Of course, one of the purposes of the Academy was to provide an education which could compete with that offered by the English public schools, particularly in Latin and Greek. However, greater emphasis - greater than had apparently been customary in Scottish education - was also to be given to the teaching of English. A committee of the directors in 1823 proposed that a Master for English should be appointed,

" ... who shall have a pure English accent ... The object of this appointment is to endeavour to remedy a defect in the education of boys in Edinburgh who are suffered to neglect the cultivation of their native tongue and literature during the whole time they attend the Grammar Schools, and in most cases to a much later period ..."

(cit. in op. cit. : 63-4)

This neglect resulted no doubt from the continuing emphasis given to Latin as the major subject in which the well educated Scot should be proficient. It was a decisive move resulting from the by now firmly established

belief among the professional and middle-classes that for their children to achieve social parity with their southern counterparts and to be able to compete effectively in the future for worthwhile careers in the United Kingdom and its expanding empire, the Scots must amend some, at least, of their educational practices and objectives towards those of the English in a much more formal and effective way than hitherto, and this ought to include attainment of a proficiency in Standard English to be spoken as well as written. By the 1860's in what were termed the Burgh and Middle Class schools English seems to have been accorded a prominent place in the curriculum: see, for example, the observations on English departments in these schools in the Argyll Commission Reports. (PP. 1867-68, XXIX)

What was the situation in schools furth of the capital and larger towns, especially in the parish schools to landward? One area for which information is available from 1833 is the north-east through the records and reports of the Dick Bequest which was established for the maintenance and assistance of the "county parochial schoolmasters" in the counties of Moray, Banff and Aberdeenshire. These provide some evidence concerning the state of education, revealing what was taught, what was expected of teachers and pupils in terms of linguistic proficiency and something of the attitude to local speech in the school, the main sources being the examination reports regarding schools in the Presbytery of Elgin (D.B. Presb.) and those of the Dick Bequest Visitation (D.B. Visit.), covering all three counties.

English as a class subject involved the teaching of reading and writing and the development of these skills to some extent. Reading, as examined, involved the pupils reading aloud from the lesson book, usually *ad aperturum*, to the "examinators" who were ministers from the local presbytery (D.B. Presb.)⁴ or academics (D.B. Visit.). Pupils were expected to read intelligently, attending to "points" (i.e. punctuation), and to show an understanding of what they had read - they were questioned on the meaning of words and tested on spelling. Considerable emphasis was placed on "pronunciation" which referred to accent, the phonetic realisation of what was read, rather than to correct identification of the words since these two aspects are distinguished in the reports. English grammar was treated as a separate branch, taught to only a few older pupils usually, and consisted of naming parts of speech, parsing and correcting "false syntax".⁵

The attainments expected by the examiners were met with apparently at Elgin Academy in 1837 as was reported:

"The higher English reading Classes exhibited Correctness of pronunciation and good taste in reading & reciting some difficult passages both in prose and verse. They shewed great Readiness in spelling and giving the meaning of words, and also in parsing and syntax."⁶

(D.B. Presb., 1837)

Generally, reports on the parish schools in the area expressed varying degrees of approbation or otherwise, one of the particular points of criticism being the extent to which the pronunciation of both teacher and pupils was judged to have been "provincial" or "vulgar".

The case of Birnie school is interesting, where the teacher's "method and pronunciation" was described as "old

fashioned", he being old himself, though "diligent". In 1837 it was observed:

"... the pronunciation of his scholars is provincial."

(D.B. Presb., 1837)

The following year, though the scholars had made progress,

"... their style of reading is vulgar & provincial."

(D.B. Presb., 1838)

In this case the teacher's age and poor education were held responsible. Only when a young assistant was appointed in 1839 was an improvement in the English reading recorded.

(D.B. Presb., 1839). Indeed, the author of "The Scotch Accent" observed that,

"... in the choice of the village teacher propriety of accent is not overlooked".

(SELJ, 1852 : 98)

But this may well refer to the teacher's reading style rather than to his conversational style.

Care taken with pronunciation, or improvement in it, was noted in a number of schools at different times, as at Alves (D.B. Presb., 1839), St. Andrews Llanbryde (1839), Spynie (1841). At Alves in 1837 there was,

"... a considerable improvement in the pronunciation of the vowel sounds."

(D.B. Presb., 1837)

In some cases the requirements of intelligence and understanding were evidenced. At Alves (1853),

"Much attention had evidently been paid to the meaning of words, the scope of passages, and the structure of sentences. Large portions of verse were repeated not in a parrot-like style but with understanding."

(D.B. Presb., 1853)

Satisfaction in this respect was expressed also for Duffus (1849, 1850); and at Urquhart (1850), the pupils were

"... well grounded and in some cases a most intimate acquaintance with the idioms of our language [i.e. English] was displayed."

(D.B. Presb., 1850)

The D.B. Visitation Reports for all three counties show a similar picture. At Inveravon (D.B. Visit., 1865) the pupils read with "considerable freedom from provincialism" and at Keig (1850) the reading was remarkable "for the victory obtained over provincialism", and at Fraserburgh in the same year, while

"the Provincial accent no doubt asserts its power ... considerable attention is evidently paid to pronunciation."

(D.B. Visit., 1850)

It was also recorded of the teacher at Pitsligo (1850) that he had been

"... waging war with the provincialisms here & there is less perhaps of the extreme breadth of the Aberdeen Doric than is some neighbouring districts."

(D.B. Visit., 1850)

Nevertheless, the picture was not all success or approval. At St. Fergus (1835) it was remarked that while the reading was correct the pronunciation was bad,

"... the teacher himself having the provincial accent very strong."

(D.B. Visit., 1835)

At New Deer (1835) the reading was poor, the provincial accent 'strong'; at Banchory Devenich (1845) it was correct but with "a very strong provincial accent"; and at Keig (1855) the pronunciation was "faulty, in common with that of the Master." (D.B. Visit.)

There is no evidence in any of this that a non-provincial or non-local accent was insisted upon beyond the reading-style. Nonetheless, in the school the pupils were becoming familiar with another style of speaking from their own, associated with a different language variety, Standard English, even if, outwith the school or the reading lesson, it was not used. There is a hint of the style of language used in the classroom in one of the reports for Auchdair (1835), when pupils were questioned by the examiners,

" ... the children giving easily the explanations which occur to them, thus a spring was defined 'a bonny clear wall' and the difference between a river & a spring being asked, 'a river rins & a spring rises up'."

While too brief to be very informative, the transcription obviously indicates a Scots form of speech; but no disapproval was expressed.

J. Kerr, one of H.M. Inspectors, in a volume of reminiscences, gives an account of a visit to an adventure school run by a shoemaker in a north-east village. The teacher, James Beattie, spoke in a Scots style to both inspector and pupils. (Kerr, 1902 : ch. X) Kerr recounts the conversation,

" ... to the best of my recollection, in his simple Doric, which would lose much by translation."

(op. cit. : 96)

For example, Mr Beattie is recorded addressing his pupils:

"Tak' your bookies, and sit peaceable and dacent, though there's few o' ye this snawy day. Think it a', dinna speak oot; your neebours hear ye and dinna mind their ain lessons."

(Ibid.)

He describes to the inspector his practice in teaching reading:

"Weel, I begin them wi' wee penny bookies; but it's no lang till they can mak' something o' the Testament; and when they can do that, I chuse easy bits oot o' baith the Auld and New Testaments that teaches us our duty to God and man. I dinna say that it's maybe the best lesson book; but it's a book they a' hae, and ane they should a' read, whether they hae ither books or no. They hae 'collections' too, and I get them pamphlets and story books; and when I see them gettin' tired o' their lessons and beginning to tak' a look about the house, I bid them put by their 'collections' and tak' their pamphlets and story books. Ye ken, bairns maun like their books."

(op. cit. : 99)

Kerr is writing from memory so that we cannot accept this as an entirely accurate rendition of the teacher's speech. The only indication here of a Scots form is the varying of Standard English orthography. Most of the Scots items are those indicating a Scots form e.g. tak', dacent, a' etc. There are only four lexical items, ken, bairns, maun, wee, and four grammatical types, -ies dimin. , -na enclitic negative , no adv. , -s 3rd pl. pres. . In terms of Scots tokens the proportion in the first extract is 40% and in the second 25% Thus, we would have to conclude that the Scots material in these extracts is fairly "dense" in terms of tokens generally although "thin" in certain types, notably lexis to use the terms suggested by McClure (1979). How typical this is of the Scots spoken in the mid 19th C. is problematic. All we can say is that we have an example of a teacher recorded as using some measure of Scots material in his speech to pupils and to inspector.

The evidence adduced here which refers to the situation in rural parish and adventure schools in the North East suggests that a full spoken Standard English was met with only in the reading style, the realisation of a text, and there is a good indication in one instance that a teacher used a Scots variety of speech in conversation. In support of the case that the speech of teachers more generally was Scots we may note the Scots speech of schoolmasters as recorded in 19th C. literature, for example, that of Jonathan Tawse in William Alexander's Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk and of "Domsie" in Ian Maclaren's stories Beyond the Bonnie Briar Bush.

That there may have been a lack of ability and perhaps confidence in using English among teachers is suggested by a comment in the 1836 D.B. Report:

"Where Latin is taught, that branch is, almost without any exception (save where the improved methods have been fully adopted) much better taught than English."

(D.B. Report, 1836 : 40)

Even at Aberdeen Grammar School in the 1850's, the rector, Melvin's, reputation was that of a Humanist in the Scottish tradition. Furthermore, in his teaching, Sir William Geddes a former pupil, remarked he "would light up the old poets with instances from Burns or Ramsay", not with modern English writers.⁷ (Masson, 1895 : 92) Another Aberdeen pupil, John Hill Burton, the Historian, suggested that Melvin's, and perhaps others', intellectual preoccupation with Humanity,

"... may have been due to the shyness of competing in the language of England with Englishmen, especially among those whose opportunities of

"mingling with the world happened to be limited."

(cit. in Davie, 1961 : 215)

Might not this have been the case with many another parish or even burgh school dominie? Even so, teachers like Melvin, particularly in the burgh schools, may well have represented a tradition about to come to an end, if not ending. It has been shown that schools like Edinburgh Academy were concerned to place more stress on English in the curriculum, but also in the universities the Humanist tradition was facing a rival in the introduction of English studies in their own right. In Edinburgh this seems to have arisen, c. 1850, as the result of "spontaneous interest" on the part of students. W.E. Aytoun, incumbent of the Chair of Rhetoric, moved away from the traditional practice of lecturing on the general principles of literature, which was usually with particular reference to Classical authors, to the history of English literature specifically, and apparently there was a ready and keen audience. (Davie, 1961 : 206)

On the evidence presented so far, the language situation both in and outwith the schools was broadly a continuation of that of the previous century, but with a progressive anglicising trend, with, in some cases, English being perceived as requiring a more prominent place in the school curriculum. It is our conjecture, based mainly on the situation in the north-east certainly, that some form of Scots was the spoken language of the classroom, particularly in the rural parish and adventure schools. Criticisms of teachers' speech seem to have centred on the vocal realisation

of the printed word, reading and reciting, although that they did not extend further cannot be ruled out. It is probable that the most anglicised speech, though not necessarily approaching a full English style (i.e. containing a few Scotticisms of lexis and grammar and in a Scots accent), among teachers was most likely to be found in the burgh schools and academies. English was becoming more important in these schools and teachers there presumably would have been expected to be better qualified in the subject. Also, in rural communities, the use of an anglicised conversational style may have been considered unnecessary in communicating with pupils.

With the advent of state inspection, examination of schoolwork (and other aspects of education) took on a much wider orientation, ceasing to be solely a local matter and also introducing an element of independence and greater rigour to assessment.

The Annual General Reports of H.M. Inspectors cover every aspect of schooling and, for the 19th C., are quite detailed. Concerning language in the schools, they reveal what the inspectors expected and to some extent what they, in fact, found. That a teacher was expected to eschew "provincialism" at least in his reading style has been shown, but that the inspectors were concerned that this should go further, to avoiding Scots in ordinary speech in the classroom, and that this was clearly not happening is suggested quite early on in the series of annual reports. In 1851 it was complained that teachers were speaking "ungrammatically".

"Not a few teachers have allowed the use of provincial and ungrammatical forms of expression, false pronunciations, and vulgarisms to become so familiar to them, that they have ceased to be conscious of it, and habitually counteract their instructions by their own example."

(HMI, 1852 : 168)

Lowland teachers, it was complained, were influenced by

"... the Scotch dialects, to which many of them have been accustomed from infancy, and which are still used by the great majority of those, with whom they have daily intercourse, and who, till lately, derided the conversational use of English in one from among themselves, calling him Anglified and pedantic."

(Ibid.)

Thus, we can infer that the reason for using Scots was that an English style of speech had not been particularly acceptable among the people where they worked and, therefore, it was no doubt easier for the teacher both to communicate with his pupils and to find acceptability himself in the community at large if he spoke "Scots", which was probably his first tongue anyway.

What the teacher ought to do was stated explicitly in a discussion of grammar in the north-east in 1858.

"The teacher who aims at making his pupils to speak and write correct English ... must be careful to speak correctly before his pupils, and needs to be always on his guard, not only against the grosser grammatical errors peculiar to his country or birthplace, but even more against those idiomatic counterfeits so often passed for sterling English. He should also study the errors prevalent in his school district, and never allow them to pass current among his scholars."

(HMI, 1859, XXI : 248)

Note that pupils were to be taught to speak as well as to read and write English.

The example of the teacher in reading aloud (often asserted to be an "imitative art" in the reports) and in speaking to his pupils seems to have been regarded as fundamental to the teaching of 'good' English by the inspectors. Through teachers setting an example of "grammatical and idiomatic English" in day-to-day conversation with their pupils and correcting the pupils' "errors" it was believed that the teaching of English would be much more effective than through formal grammar book teaching alone. (HMI, 1869, XX : 361) The 'normal' or teacher training school apparently dealt with this in its course, but sometimes with less success than hoped for. In 1869 it was observed of the students that

"When off their guard, and speaking as they will do in the schools they may have in charge, they very frequently fall down from their show style of reading and the grammar rules they may have learned bookwise, and address a class in natal words and tones ..."

(HMI, 1870, XX : 352)

Are there any indications that the policy of ousting Scots from the classroom met with success? An interesting case is Belhelvie school. In the report for 1850 the inspection remarks state,

"The master has received a university education; is happy in the adaptation of his questions, but is tempted to use the Scottish dialect as being more easily comprehended by the younger children. Advised to try whether he might not, in a short time, be equally well understood in using simple English words."

(HMI, 1851, XLIV : 750)

The report for the following year remarks:

"The occasional use of words in the Scottish dialect noticed in the last report appears now to be avoided."

(HMI, 1852, LXXX : 782)

Another inspector remarked,

"Some masters, whose teaching I remember with pleasure never allow an ungrammatical expression to pass uncorrected no matter what the subject in hand may be ..."

(HMI, 1868-69, XX : 352)

This was deemed to have been resultant from the effectiveness of proper example.

"The teacher whose ear is grammatically dainty soon makes his scholars as fastidious as himself, and all solecisms are speedily laughed out of class."

(Ibid.)

Thus, among some teachers there was ability and readiness to use something approaching Standard English in grammar and lexis also presumably all, or most of the time in the classroom. However, the overall impression gained from the reports is that this was more the exception than the rule.

It would be misleading to suggest that the language situation in the schools immediately preceding 1872 was uniform, rather it was variable and in the course of change, as it was in society at large where a gradually advancing tide of anglicisation was becoming more evident.

The kind of schooling described in the DB records, for example, in most respects was probably not very different from that of the previous century. Nevertheless, English was firmly established as the language of literacy and there was a wider range of reading material available, probably as a result of the expansion of the printing industry in Scotland and the comparatively wealthier condition in general of the Lowlands arising from an

industrialising economy. English studies were achieving more important status both in the universities and in the Burgh and Middle Class schools. While spoken Scots was evidently still to be heard in schools, probably the majority, for both teachers and pupils there was pressure to abandon this in favour of spoken English. This prohibition on Scots demanded by inspectors may be likened to that once applied in the Latin class, the aim now being to encourage greater fluency and proficiency in English, in speech in addition to reading and writing.

At least this was the intention. Just how effective the inspectors were is difficult to assess. It may be doubted whether in many cases their admonitions got much beyond the hortative to achieve successful implementation. In their early years, the inspectors were few and their role was essentially advisory, but they were the first independent assessors of education nationally, and as representatives of government their views would carry some authority. Before the Inspectorate which was initiated in Scotland in 1845 with the first effective appointment of an inspector being John Gibson, an English teacher at Madras College,⁸ it cannot be said that there was any definitive and authoritative statement of policy on language in the schools beyond acceptance of literacy in English as the prime objective. This was a matter of plain pragmatism founded on the simple and inescapable fact that Standard English was the sole language used for official purposes and most literate activities in the British state, with Scots perceived as a set of regional dialects, statusless outwith its own tradition of literature. The policy

and attitudes of the inspectors were not only a continuation of this but in some respects an extension. Furthermore, since the early inspectors were recruited from the higher ranks of teachers, graduates usually, their views may well have reflected their own practice and experience.

Whatever the effectiveness of the strictures against Scots speech in the classroom, however prevalent it may have been among both pupils and teachers, the policy and attitudes expressed by the inspectors in this matter before 1872 adumbrated the approach to be adopted after 1872 when a restructured and centrally controlled system of schooling was established.

CHAPTER 5 : THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : 1872 - c. 1910

In the earlier part of the 19th C., as before, the teaching of English, as far as can be determined, was concerned primarily with literacy, although by mid-century more attention was being directed to speaking English, but still with most emphasis placed on reading, writing and formal grammar. In the parish schools, grammar was taught to the more academically able pupils: the DB reports for parish schools always show only a few of the pupils being instructed in this. (See n 5 p 55) In the burgh schools it was probably universal. After 1872, as is clearly evidenced in the HMI general reports, there was a development and expansion of English teaching, as, indeed, was the case with all subjects. Perception of the educational importance of English became more clearly articulated, as was a more coherent understanding of aims and methods. Among other things this led to the formal establishment under the Scotch Code of 1886 in all schools of 'English' as a class subject in its own right, with more curricular demands being placed on pupils and teachers. Commented one inspector,

"The very name is of importance, for it makes prominent the fact that one of the grand objects of elementary school teaching is to ensure that pupils who have passed through its curriculum shall be able to comprehend, to speak and to write the English language."

(HMI, 1888, XVIII : 298)

What was coming to be required of pupils was a basic all round proficiency in English as Mr Struthers of the Southern

Division put it, the ability

"... to understand and give the meaning of any passage written in Standard English, to speak the language with some degree of freedom, and to write plain narrative with grammatical correctness and with some command over the vocabulary."

(HMI, 1889, XXXII : 212)

Perhaps the most important development was the emphasis on the speaking of English and to some extent the writing of it, that is, in developing the "active" linguistic skills which the inspectors believed to have been neglected. A knowledge and ability beyond basic literacy was now expected: Mr Scougall of Southern Division observed:

"Until a few years ago attention was mainly concentrated upon reading. The speaking of English was not systematically cultivated, particularly in the junior classes, and the writing of English was practised only in the two senior classes of the school."

(HMI, 1906, XXX : 245)

Evidence from the DB records would seem to support this. For example, at St. Andrews-Llanbryde in 1862 the number recorded as being able to compose a simple narrative satisfactorily was 5 out of 64 pupils; at Speymouth in the same year it was 7 out of 59. An "active" knowledge of English does not seem to have been widely acquired in the parish schools.

If teachers were uncertain before of what was expected of them it was now being spelt out clearly and directly.

With the establishment of a formal examination system initiated with the introduction of the Leaving Certificate in 1888, English was inevitably an important component. In 1898 a capitation grant of £5 was established, to be

awarded to school managers by the SED for every scholar who attained two leaving certificates in the lower grade, one of which had to be English. (HMI, 1899, XXVI : 454)

Assessments by inspectors of the effectiveness of English teaching in the schools were varied, as might be expected, depending on which schools they had been visiting, results ranging from excellent through average to poor.

In 1890 Dr Smith whose district covered Lanark observed:

"A working knowledge of the English tongue seems to be one of the last things attained by the average scholar."

(HMI, 1890-91, XXX : 271)

But another, commenting on performance in reading in Aberdeenshire and Kincardine stated

"There are now many schools in the district where, considering the class of children and the fact that book English is altogether distinct from the language of their everyday life, the results achieved are worthy of unstinted praise."

(Op. cit. : 298)

In 1899 also in Aberdeen and Kincardine the standard of English composition achieved was taken to be evidence of painstaking instruction on the part of teachers. More attention was being given to 'sentence-building' and 'correctness of speech' in these counties, the inspector claimed. (HMI, 1900, XXIV : 565) In Fife 'practice in speaking English' was thought to be effecting improvement. (Ibid.) Also, in Fife, in 1907, oral work was thought to be above the average, and in the same year in Edinburgh schools oral composition was apparently being tackled more systematically so that

"... greater readiness and accuracy in the use of spoken English are discernable."

(HMI, 1908, XXVIII : 375)

The Report on Secondary Education in Scotland (1907), stated in its remarks on English that composition was improving:

" ... it is quite common now to find pupils who can connectedly and in good, fluent English relate an incident, and describe a character, a place, or an historical event."

(HMI, 1908, XXVIII : 929)

Thus, since 1872 English teaching had been broadening in its scope, developing clearer aims, and improving in instruction, so that by the first decade of the 20th C. it was perceived to be taught quite efficiently and effectively in many instances; in particular there was progress in the active language skills, spoken and written.

Despite this, complaints about "provincial defects" continued to be common among inspectors. Some form of Scots, of course, remained the spoken language of the majority of Lowlanders.

The language policy of the schools as laid down by the inspectors was to promote Standard English as the literary and spoken language. Furthermore, it was intended that Standard English should displace the vernacular Scots speech of pupils. They were to be educated out of "bad" linguistic habits into "good" ones. In the event this policy seems to have been only partly successful, effectiveness being confined to the schoolroom itself. In the report for 1897 Mr Jamieson whose district comprised Glasgow (City), Stirling, Dumbarton, Bute and Argyll was reported by Dr Stewart, his superior, as remarking:

" ... the language of the playground is very different from the reasonably correct pronunciation secured inside the school." Dr Stewart

continued: "All the home language is sheer vernacular in the case of the poor classes, and the slight school reform is easily, perhaps willingly forgotten.

Hence the parents, who must have been at school thirty years ago, appear as far as speech and pronunciation go, to have secured no abiding advantage from their school training in such matters."

(HMI, 1898, XXVIII : 378)

Scots speakers seem to have resisted pressures to make them anglicise helped no doubt by the strength of the social networks of family and community, and anyway opportunities for using spoken English may not have arisen very often : passive control, hearing and reading with understanding would have had precedence over active control, speaking English (i.e. selecting English words and grammar) and writing English much of the time. Some effective control could be achieved in the classroom, but outwith the school the local Scots remained the linguistic norm. Again Mr Jamieson was cited:

"You hear a child reading in school with fluency, correct phrasing and modulation, and with scarcely a trace of provincialism. You meet the same child afterwards outside, and make a remark to it. The remark is answered in an accent which the inspector finds extremely difficult to understand. This seems to show that the average child carefully divests itself of its school language as it leaves the school door; and all the more credit is thus due to the teacher who is able to maintain so correct a standard of reading and conversation within the school".

(HMI, 1898, XXVIII : 381)

Some inspectors perceived this "dialect-switching" as deliberate and conscious regarding it almost as perverse: Mr Jamieson (Dumfries and Kirkcudbright) wrote,

"It is done on the principle of video meliora proboque; Deteriora sequor. In most cases

"they certainly are taught to read and speak with considerable accuracy, if they care to keep it up."

(HMI, 1900, XXIV : 522)

On a number of occasions social difference in language was remarked on: the language of "middle-class" children was perceived as closer to, if not congruent with, standard English in contrast to that of "working-class" children. In the report for schools in Dumbarton, Stirling and Clackmannan in 1877, the requirement of 'reading with intelligence' was discussed:

"Good reading, which the public teacher finds so difficult of attainment, comes to the children of the better classes ... by nature. They hear the best models, and they not only read a great deal, but what is of equal importance, the language they read is their mother tongue. In these three particulars the children of the humbler ranks are at a disadvantage. They are seldom permitted to hear a good model, they read comparatively little, and the language they read is not the phraseology of their daily life. They read one language, they hear and speak another."

(HMI, 1878, XXV : 176)

In 1894 another inspector commented in similar vein on the situation in Lanark, Stirling, Dumbarton, Bute and Argyll, where children of "the poor" were

" ... peculiarly liable to use words in wrong senses, and to construct sentences which violate ordinary grammatical rules."

(HMI, 1895, XXX : 377)

By "ordinary grammatical rules", it must be assumed, was meant those of standard English.

The influence of the home was seen as crucial: it benefited the middle-class child who heard "correct" speech there, it hampered the child from a poor background who did not. The home influence of the latter was "all against

them" believed Dr Stewart of Southern Division. (HMI, 1903, XXII : 689) That is, it was a hindrance to the acquisition of a good standard English and so to the achievement of those benefits of life, educational, occupational, social, which were thought to take rise from it. For those linguistically disadvantaged the school must provide some guidance, some grammatical principles, or they would be "lost". (Ibid.) Thus, for them the school was to be the instrument of linguistic salvation and it was no doubt particularly towards such children that promotion of the 'active' skills in English was being directed.

One inspector in the Western Division, Mr Smith, even sought to measure the difference in linguistic ability between middle-class and working-class children, or at least one aspect of it, by trying to determine the "actual vocabulary" (whether active or passive is not stated) of a 5-year old in numerical terms, that is, the number of Standard English lexical types each child commanded. In a survey of three "typical schools" the English vocabulary of what was described as a "slum-child" was calculated at some two or three dozen words, while that of a child from "a good middle class home" commanded or understood a thousand words, or up to fifteen hundred in the case of bright children. (HMI, 1906, XXX : 287) The methods and principles used to obtain this information are not revealed so that it is not possible to assess fairly its reliability, but it does indicate that inspectors were prepared to approach the problem in a quasi-scientific

manner to justify their policies. Also, this piece of research is worth noting as an early statement of what was to be referred to in more recent sociolinguistic and educational literature as the "deficit theory", particularly in the USA during the 1960's.¹

Occasionally, rather than general references to "scotticisms" or "provincialisms" particular linguistic "defects" were noted by the inspectors, together with complaints that too little attention was being paid to them and exhortations to remedial action.

In Aberdeenshire and Kincardine in 1894 indistinct articulation of consonants was said to be a "prevailing defect", as also was pronunciation of vowels too far back in the mouth or even "in the throat". The inspector called for more elocutionary effort.

"There is need for more of 'the clanging of consonants ringing on the anvil'."

(HMI, 1895, XXX : 421)

Similar faults were found in the Lower Ward of Lanarkshire, characteristically,

"... the mutilation of final syllables, and especially the conversion of final d into t; the slurring over of intermediate consonants, and the omission of sibilants."

(Op. cit. : 372)

The "slurring over of intermediate consonants" most likely refers to glottalisation in realising consonants. In Renfrewshire in 1896, a slightly more tolerant line with local pronunciation was suggested by Mr Boyd with regard to the reading style, with qualifications:

"All the essential qualities of good reading may be obtained without much interference with

"local peculiarities of accent, but no quarter should be given to indistinct and slovenly utterance."

(HMI, 1897, XXIX : 372)

The t in 'Scotland' and 'Saturday'

"... is very often sounded so imperfectly, if sounded at all, as to make the pronunciation absurdly awkward."

(Ibid.)

He also condemned as 'slovenly' the realisation of the present participle and gerund with -en or -n for -ing. Glottalisation appears to have been quite widespread. Among other features it was complained of in 1898 in the reading of pupils in parts of Perth and Fife, where also vowels were "throaty", very back one assumes, and final consonants indistinct. (HMI, 1898, XXVI : 436) In Fife in 1905 glottal stop pronunciations in such words as butter and satisfied (i.e. with intervocalic t) was denounced as was the pronunciation of the vowel a which approached the sound of aw, something like [ɐ̞] presumably. (HMI, 1906, XXX : 246)

The elision of, or "carelessness" in pronouncing, /s/ word-finally was faulted in the Border counties, being regarded as a peculiarity or as a characteristic of the area. (HMI, 1895, XXX : 329) (HMI, 1899, XXVI : 435)

Certain colloquialisms were considered 'barriers' to acceptable English, particularly in composition. "You was", "They are" (for "these are"), "to" (for until) were cited as prevalent, the last in Caithness, it was claimed.

As a remedial measure teachers were often urged to

compile lists of "local errors and solecisms", in the hope that by making their charges more conscious of them as unacceptable they would be discouraged from using them. The antibarbarus had, of course, always been a popular educational resource in teaching English in Scotland.

It is evident that what was being condemned as 'incorrect' or 'slovenly' speech was, in many instances, the local Scots speech or the distinctively Scots features thereof, the community speech of many pupils. This was not perceived as having a status in its own right, as being merely different, but rather as being an incorrect realisation of spoken English in pronunciation and as a breaching of the rules of English in grammar.

It is interesting that Scots lexical items were not complained of specifically. These would have been one of the most prominent manifestations of Scots speech but also the most controllable, the Scots elements most readily elided from speech, and it is likely that these were not to be heard very often in the classroom or at least not before a visiting inspector. (However, see below)

Mr Miller, an inspector in the Southern Division was reported by Mr Scougall, his superior as favouring the retention of genuine Scots words although these were to be contrasted with English words often "called Scots because they are so mangled in the local pronunciation as to be unrecognisable". (HMI, 1907, XXIII : 356) A Scots child, it was held, should be able to use both Scots and English but was to be conscious always of which he was speaking; the two were to be kept strictly apart. Even

a Scots pronunciation of English was not acceptable. (Ibid.) "Genuine" Scots had nothing to do with English and seems to have been perceived in the above remarks largely in terms of lexis, the level at which it was most obviously different from English. Where the phonological forms were as in Standard English but the idiomatic usage or the accent was local or general Scots, this was condemned as "incorrect" English.

Of course, since the aim was to teach English the intrusion of Scots features might justifiably not be thought appropriate in a rendering of standard English. The problem was that most lowlanders had a mixed style of speech, being anglicised in some degree, whether to a greater or lesser extent. Where, then, did English begin and Scots end? In pronunciation it would not be too clear to most teachers and pupils what an acceptable realisation of English for a Scot should be. The idea seems to have been to keep Scots features apart from 'English', which may have seemed reasonable in principle but much more difficult in practice when aspects of Scots speech were deemed to be false Scots or incorrect English in the official view. A real problem for Scots speakers has been not so much the clear differences in their speech from Standard English, for example in lexis (i.e. the opposition in the bipolar model between columns (1) and (5), e.g. tuim, kenspeckle, forfochen, muckle, ettle (v) as against empty, conspicuous, exhausted, big, intend) but its similarities, including the shared features, notably grammar and some lexis (column (3)) and the apparently

shared forms (columns (2) and (4), e.g. mair, stane, yaise (v), hoose, heid as against more, stone, use, house, head), where an objective description would class these last as cognates, simple differences, but another view would be to consider the Scots forms as 'incorrect' pronunciations of the English forms. Thus, if Scots speakers could conform largely or in some respects to English, why not in all? This has been a proposition faced by Scots speakers since pressure to anglicise began at the end of the 17th C.

The frequent recurrence of admonitions to remedy speech 'errors' suggested to inspectors that some teachers were less than diligent or efficient in their duty. Indeed sometimes the teachers would put forward local speech as an excuse for their failure to bring their pupils to the required standards in English, such as a good reading style as Mr McLeod, the inspector for Moray and Nairn reported in 1885. (HMI, 1886, XXII : 237) Inspectors did see it as contributing difficulty in some measure but not sufficiently so to account for some of the results. Observed Mr Barrie, the inspector for Dumfries and Kirkcudbright:

"Local dialect and stage of culture contribute each a quota to lack of enunciation, modulation, and musical tone, but the evil complained of must to a large extent be laid at the door of inefficient instruction. As the teacher is the child is, in reading as in character."

(HMI, 1895, XXX : 326)

The pupil-teachers² too exhibited many of the characteristics complained of above.

The training of teachers involved attempts to modify the speech of students towards a more anglicised norm

away from their local speech, particularly accent. It was often remarked that first year students did not reach a high enough standard because of their varied linguistic background. Referring to their reading style at the Free Church Training College, Glasgow, the inspector, Dr Wilson commented:

"The students come from all parts of the country, their accent is various, their pronunciation peculiar, their enunciation often defective, and their reading viewed as a whole seldom good ..."

(HMI, 1875-76, XXV : 180)

As a result the first year course was

"... mainly occupied with the removal of provincialisms, and the introduction of a higher uniform style of reading."

(HMI, 1878, XXXI : 247)

The importance of, and developments in, English were reflected in the curriculum of the training colleges into which the normal schools evolved. In 1901, SED Circular 329 stated the subjects which had to be taken by non-university students at training colleges among which were English and voice production and phonetics (HMI, 1902, XXXIII : 785) which involved "instruction in Reading and Speaking Voice production; the discrimination of English sounds and their representation in phonetic and common alphabets". (op. cit. : 789) Furthermore, some branch of English had to be studied throughout the period of training. In 1904, the Composition class in all the colleges dealt with, among other things, "prevalent errors e.g. Scotticisms." (HMI, 1905, XXIV : 741)

From the foregoing it seems clear that the greater part of effort in schools regarding language was to be

directed to teaching English. The other side of the coin, a consequence of this, was the suppression of Scots speech. While the former, the principal objective, was pursued with unanimity by the inspectorate, the latter was not, or not entirely. Some inspectors apparently were prepared to advocate a more tolerant policy with respect to Scots speech in the school, and approval of the use of Scots speech in certain circumstances was expressed. Mr Muir, the inspector whose territory comprised North Forfar, Kincardine and Shetland, in 1876 complained of "undue prominence given to dictionary meanings of words" in reading-books, specifically pupils learning definitions by rote without understanding them, and cited an example.

"In one school I asked a junior class the meaning of the word 'passenger' in the lesson before them. I was answered readily, 'one who travels by a public conveyance'. 'Quite right', said I. 'Now what is a public conveyance? Give me an example. Tell me any public conveyance you have ever heard of?' There was a painful silence."

But he went on:

"Far preferable to this are the rough and ready explanations in colloquial, or even vernacular speech I sometimes get. Of a history class I asked one day the meaning of the word 'treason'. 'What do you mean by committing treason against the king?' 'Giein' him impudence', was the prompt answer of one boy. 'Well, right so far, but tell me a little more accurately what it is.' 'Speakin' back tae him.' It is obviously more pleasant to get such answers than answers like those which define 'invasion' as entering a country with hostile intentions ..."

(HMI, 1877, XXXII : 119)

The inspector spoke in English and was answered in Scots, but without disapproval, for the inspector was more concerned with the pupil's understanding and his ability to

express it easily. Inspector and pupil could understand each other although they used different dialects. The problem for pupils does not seem to have been in understanding English but in using it, the passive skills being more readily and quickly developed than the active. Some inspectors attributed this to English being a "foreign language" to most Lowland Scotsmen, e.g. (HMI, 1898, XXVIII : 426, 357) (HMI, 1901, XXII : 559). A Memorandum on the Teaching of English (MTE, 1907, LXV), while recognising that the "mother-tongue" of Lowland Scottish children was different from English saw it as

" ... so like English that they can understand simple spoken English to some extent when they enter school, though they cannot use it freely."

(op. cit. : 2)

This gap between the pupil's Scots and the school's English had to be bridged and allowing some use of Scots by pupils in the classroom in a transitional stage until they had gained more skill and confidence in using English was seen as a solution. Mr Munro, an inspector in the Western Division, was reported by his superior, Mr Boyd, as claiming:

" ... it is very difficult to get a typical Scottish child, especially in a country district, to speak English, of which he hears little out of school ... but to enable him to get over his shyness and give a start, I should not object to his using at first his vernacular Doric."

(HMI, 1903, XXII : 739)

In fact, this was probably an acceptance, an official sanction, of what had been and was still a common practice, as the following remark from an earlier year made by Mr Galloway of Renfrew, Bute and Argyll district suggests,

" ... though infinitely inferior to English Gaelic may very usefully be employed by teachers in remote corners to explain their lessons to the children just as Broad Scots is employed in several parts of the country."

(HMI, 1878-9, XXV : 195)

Obviously Gaelic was not held in much higher regard than Scots. The references to 'remote' parts and 'country' districts indicates that the problem was greater there, such areas being linguistically more conservative, i.e. less anglicised.

Perhaps the most tolerant and positive statement of official policy and attitude towards Scots at this period was that expressed in the Memorandum on Teaching English in Primary Schools (1907)

"Yet Lowland Scots being historically a national language, possessing a literature to which the children will be introduced some day, is not to be treated like a provincial dialect. The teacher should not discourage its use by the children in those familiar talks through which he seeks to give them confidence, not hesitate to use it himself when English fails as a means of communication."

This gives the impression that a limited policy of bidialectalism was being actively encouraged, and also that literature in Scots was at some stage an established part of the curriculum. The statement that Scots had the status of a "national language" with its own literature indicates some acceptance in the education system of this traditional view promoted in the past by Jamieson, Cockburn, Scott, the publishing clubs like Bannatyne and Maitland. However, the phrase "when English fails ..." is a key one, for the Memorandum also stated unequivocally the objective of enabling pupils to understand and to use English both spoken and written. Furthermore, all subjects in the

curriculum were seen as contributing to this end through the incidental use of English and teachers were to insist that pupils

"... make all oral communications in good English, well pronounced and thrown (if need be) into complete grammatical form."

(op. cit. : 1)

But this should not be at the expense of fluency: oral expression was to be encouraged before anything else particularly where "command of English on entering school is small." (op. cit. : 2) Effecting an ability in English was the future aim, but the Scots speech of pupils was a present fact and the latter had to be taken account of and actively used where necessary in reaching for the former. (It was justified also because of the status Scots as "historically a national language" was now recognised to have.) The implication is that this practice was to be limited to younger children who had no real capability in English when they first went to school. Once they had developed some skill and confidence in using it they would be expected to do so all the time. If English was to become eventually the language of "all oral communications" for pupils this implies that lapses into the vernacular among older pupils would not have been acceptable.

Since the recommendations of the Memorandum were, it was claimed, supported by "the actual experience of teachers of repute", the reference to this practice here taken together with the others cited suggests that it was quite common. The approval expressed in effect gave official licence to what was apparently a longstanding and necessary

practice on the part of any sensible and competent teacher.

The overall attitude to Scots expressed in the Memorandum was much more positive than the inspectors' chiefly negative or hostile reports would lead one to expect. The Memorandum's statement that Scots

"... is not to be treated like a provincial dialect."

(op. cit. : 2)

seems to contradict the general view among inspectors who were evidently treating Scots as just that; but it is an indication that not all hands in the educational system were turned against Scots speech.

To what extent were pupils exposed to literature in Scots? They may not have been as certain of encountering it in the school as the author of the Memorandum suggests, but it was to be found there: references in the general reports to Scots poems and songs being taught are not uncommon.

An interesting remark was made in the report for 1897 by Mr Galloway, with reference to schools in Inverness district, where "prevailing blank ignorance of the classical Scotch dialect" was noticed, not surprisingly.

"That is in no way to be accounted an educational fault, but it is, I venture to think, an educational misfortune. To be debarred from enjoyment of the pithiness of Scots prose and the pathos of Scots ballad poetry, is not only to lose a keen emotional pleasure, but to be outside the national tradition."

(HMI, 1898, XXVIII : 431)

Since the inspector refers to the children "... reading a language in which they did not think ..." (Ibid.), we may infer given the geographical area that he is referring to

children whose first tongue was Gaelic. It is significant that the 'national' tradition was identified with Lowland Scotland. By advocating literature in Scots as a desirable addendum to the curriculum for non-Scots-speaking pupils he hoped to bring them within it, apparently forgetful of the other Scottish tradition. Yet here is one inspector who was obviously quite enthusiastic about literature in Scots.

Other inspectors could be less enthusiastic. For example, overemphasis on Ballads in schools in parts of the Borders particularly Liddesdale and Yarrow but elsewhere also, was criticised in 1904. The inspector, Mr King, was concerned

"... that there is a temptation to teach nothing but these ballads, to the exclusion of other poetry. Excellent as they are in themselves, and most appropriate to Border schools, the study of them should not absorb much of school-time, although they might very well be learned at home in the winter evenings. The same criticism applies except to a limited extent, to the introduction of poems by Burns and Hogg, and to all other writings however fine, which are not written in good modern English. This must be the staple of instruction, if we are to give the children the fullest possible equipment in words and thought for modern life. The rest is luxury whatever the perfervid nationalist may say."

(HMI, 1905, XXIX : 366)

We can infer from this last remark about "the perfervid nationalist" that there was a desire among some teachers to promote the national (Scottish, but equated with Lowland) tradition in some aspects at least.

This part of the account has relied almost exclusively on the general reports of the inspectorate. Nevertheless, taken overall, and even allowing for occasional vagaries, there is no reason to suppose that these do not provide a

reasonable indication of official attitudes, policies and activity in schools immediately before and after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act.

In assessing the linguistic situation in schools during the course of the 19th C., as presented here, there is to be considered a current view that

" ... probably the biggest blow to spoken Scots was the Education Act of 1872 ... the most harmful single factor in the history of Scots as the spoken language of the less educated classes."

(McClure, 1975 : 179)

The spoken language of the classroom before 1872 was Scots in the parish schools, says McClure; pupils read in English because the most widespread reading material was the Bible and the Shorter Catechism, but the teaching was carried out by the local dominies and inspection by members of Kirk Sessions:

" ... all of whom would speak as their native language the local form of Scots."
(op. cit. 80)

After 1872 the language spoken in the school was English.

Withrington (1974) adopts much the same view:

"The impact of the schools before 1870 was negligible: Scots speech no doubt remained as a normal and acceptable element in the classroom ..."

(Withrington, 1974 : 12)

We can translate the term 'Scots' structurally in terms of the description we have adopted as a preference for selecting Scots material at all linguistic levels. The detrimental effect of the schools on Scots speech after 1872 is attributed to the centralised control and standardising influences of the new system, particularly as operated through the Inspectorate.

It should be made clear that there was no specific reference in the 1872 Act to language (this point is also made by McClure) beyond a simple statement on the curriculum that elementary education should comprise "reading, writing and arithmetic".

To what extent then does the evidence offered in the present study support, or otherwise, the above interpretation? It would suggest that the situations of Scots in schools before and after 1872 were rather less clearly delineable than McClure and Withrington seem to be saying. That Scots was spoken in classrooms before and up to 1872 is not in doubt, but that it was spoken in classrooms after 1872 is evident also from the reports of inspectors, and was sometimes tolerated, if in a limited way. Furthermore, there were attempts to anglicise more fully the spoken language in schools before 1872, although how widely effective these were we cannot say. Thus, the situation as presented by McClure and Withrington must be faulted because they fail to recognise a progression of attitude and policy over quite a long period. The significance of the 1872 Act is that it brought into being an education system which was becoming better organised and equipped to perpetuate and advance these.

The effect of the 1872 Act was to formalise fully and to institutionalise attitudes to Scots and English already long held by educated and middle-class Scots which had already been making headway in Scottish education during the previous century and a half.

The widening of the scope of English as a subject was important, particularly the much greater emphasis given to

the speaking of English and to Composition, oral and written, previously somewhat neglected, especially in parish schools. The demand that pupils make "all oral communications in good English", while expressed earlier, could be more easily and effectively enforced under the new system. Generally, teachers were becoming better educated and better trained as more was required of them and they became more aware of what they were expected to achieve, through statements in the regulatory Codes and in inspectors' reports.

It is worth considering the extent to which teachers were influenced by inspectors, notably after 1872. The inspectors' task was eased insofar as there were more of them and, initially at least fewer schools to be inspected. (Scotland, 1969(ii) : 3) Inspectors travelled their districts visiting schools and examining pupils to ascertain whether satisfactory standards had been attained in the various subjects. In the course of this they had personal contact with teachers in which criticisms, suggestions, recommendations could be expressed face-to-face. It must be remembered that the state grant to the school depended on a satisfactory report from the inspector and so it was obviously in the interest of the teacher to comply with the requirements as laid down by inspectors and to heed their advice, the result being, as Bone puts it

" ... what they tested would be taught."

(Bone, 1968 : 80)

Also, by the end of the century the inspectors' reports were published separately for each district at an affordable

price and it is likely that teachers were encouraged to buy them, so that a permanent record of the inspectors' views on the various branches of education was available to individual teachers. (Bone, 1968 : 145)

In summary, it has been argued here that one of the results of the educational policies and the manner in which they were carried out was to promote English in schools at the expense of Scots much more effectively than previously, that this was a continuation of previous policy and was consequent from growing trends and pressures during the period before 1872 from within Scottish education and from without. Also, improvement in the effectiveness of the anglicisation policy after 1872, even if judged to be more rapid, was less a matter of sudden change but of ongoing development as the schools became more efficient.

The policies of anglicisation and descottisation in Scottish schools was, in effect, a reflection of the linguistic mores of wider society, or rather the dominant part of it, the upper and especially the middle and professional classes.

CHAPTER 6 : THE TWENTIETH CENTURY : c. 1910 - c. 1980

In considering the situation during the present century, it is apparent that the attitudes and policies which were being institutionalised in the Scottish education system in the last quarter of the 19th C. and the first years of this one were maintained and continued to be expressed and implemented. However, at various times demands and proposals have arisen for some place in schools for Scots language and literature and, in recent years, these have come more prominently to the fore and particularly from within the system itself.

As far as the general linguistic situation in the 20th C. is concerned, it is probable, though not empirically established fact that it has been the most significant period for the decline and decay of Scots in speech, especially lexis. The clear impression is that the influence of English became ever more pervasive and powerful. The reasons for this can be attributed in some measure to an increase in physical communications, road, rail and air, allowing ever greater mobility with a consequent weakening of the old family and community networks which probably helped to sustain Scots and the vast expansion of the media, not only the written word in newspapers, magazines and books, but, more importantly, the spoken word conveyed through radio, films and television, the language of which has been English of one brand or another, usually Southern or American, with any Scots very little to be heard. The cultural influences on young Scots in the last few generations have come from furth of Scotland to a great extent,

and in recent years have become more diverse and cosmopolitan.

It may be noted also that the urban variety became the most widely spoken form of Scots with the majority of the population located in the towns and cities, particularly the west central belt.

This assessment, though impressionistic is, nevertheless a likely statement of matters and is intended as an aid to perspective in considering the influence of the schools on the linguistic situation.

The perception of Scots in the view of Scottish Education Department officials was clearly expressed on occasions. In a memorandum written in 1925 by an inspector the question of the extent to which Scots was alive in everyday use was considered:

"In the North East rural area the vernacular is vigorous and thriving. In Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray it is still the everyday language of the villages as well as of the farms. An even surer evidence of its vitality is the fact that it is still the everyday language of the school play-grounds all over this area."

(SED Memo, 1925)

By contrast, in Glasgow and district the position was very different. The middle classes did not use the vernacular at all and younger people knew almost nothing of it, while the language of the working class contained only "fragments!" In illustration of this one inspector was reported as saying:

"... he cannot use the vernacular in any of Lanarkshire schools north of Carluke without appearing to the children ridiculous; south of that, in the rural ward of the county, the children hear from him what is their own tongue gladly and reply in it with corresponding readiness."

(Ibid.)

A linguistic dichotomy between urban and landward Scots was clearly perceived as an established fact by this time. Did the inspector actually use the pupils' 'own tongue' (i.e. the local variety of Scots) or what he imagined was 'their own tongue'? That is, he may have equated the pupils' speech with some notion of 'Ideal Scots'. Nevertheless, it is a reminder that it should not be supposed that all inspectors or teachers were hostile or indifferent to Scots in some forms. Others may have used it from time to time where their own background was conducive.

The memorandum goes on to point out that literature in Scots was concerned with country life and manners, and that the vernacular was used only in ordinary, everyday business and not for matters of "high seriousness". Thus, for children in urban areas it lacked relevance because they were

"... ignorant of the things of which it speaks, and that language itself has become incapable of adapting itself to their circumstances."

(Ibid.)

Scots, as defined here, was properly the language of the landward areas, and was incapable of referring to an urban environment or urban life. However, the language of urban working class children was described as "a slovenly patois", "neither English nor Scots but a bad blend of both", "the degraded language of the home and the street", so that it was obviously not acceptable. The implication of this, though it was not overtly stated, is that the appropriate language for education in modern life was English. Also, by implication, Scots was recognised as

having a relevance to rural life, although not necessarily inside the school.

Much the same analysis was offered in the 1946 Report on Primary Education where Scots "today" was described as

" ... the homely, natural and pithy everyday speech of country and small-town folk in Aberdeenshire and adjacent counties, and to a lesser extent in other parts outside the great industrial areas. But it is not the language of "educated" people anywhere, and could not be described as a suitable medium of education or culture. Elsewhere because of extraneous influences it has sadly degenerated, and become a worthless jumble of slipshod ungrammatical and vulgar forms, still further debased by the intrusion of the less desirable Americanisms of Hollywood."

(Primary, 1946 : 75-6)

The "elsewhere" is obviously the urban and industrialised areas, though what was meant by "extraneous influences" is not explained.

In its response to the language situation as expressed in reports and documents both regular and occasional the SED showed that it was continuing to adhere firmly to its established attitudes and policy, as the above analysis would lead one to infer.

A memorandum on day schools in the report for 1939 stated:

"The main instrument of culture should be English
...."

(SED, 1940 : 10)

What was termed "the poor speech of many children and the urgent need to improve it" (SED, 1948 : 7) continued to be of perennial concern. Improvement was noted, as in 1951, but the overall result remained unsatisfactory.

"Spoken English is undoubtedly receiving more attention, and admirable work is done in some schools, but the struggle to eliminate careless and uncouth speech and to prevent the intrusion of alien vulgarities is long and hard, and in certain industrial areas the results are hardly commensurate with the efforts expended."

(SED Report, 1951 : 26)

In 1953 it was observed concerning English in the primary school that efforts to improve pupils' speech had met with only moderate success:

" ... habits acquired at home or in the street of slurring consonants and broadening vowel sounds are specially hard to combat."

(SED Report, 1953 : 21)

Of course, "poor speech" was not seen necessarily in terms of Scots since the definition of Scots was fairly narrow, being, in effect, Landward Scots, being a manifestation of 'Good' Scots (see Aitken (1981), while Urban speech, though it contained elements of this, was not thought of as a variety or dialect of Scots proper, but simply as being "incorrect" which is to say 'Bad' Scots (Ibid.), neither Scots nor English, although scotticisms were involved here too but they were not recognised or accepted as such.

A definitive and explicit statement of policy is contained in the 1946 report on Primary Education. Its view of the overall situation has already been noted. A section on 'spoken English' began with a confession of failure in achieving the objective of giving pupils "a clear, easy, correct and un-self-conscious use of the English language." (Primary, 1946 : 41) However, it was asserted that this must remain the objective, and the problems faced and what could be done to overcome them are

detailed. The task was to teach "one" language properly:

"The first job of a child coming to a Scottish school ... is to learn to speak a good standard English, without reference to the dialect of the home or the street or the playground."

(op. cit. : 41-2)

The option of using initially the Scots of the pupils as a means of communication approved in an earlier document (MTE, 1907) was not mentioned and this statement would suggest it had been abandoned. The main cause of linguistic problems exhibited by many pupils was "social", the report claimed, and there was a reiteration of the kind of class difference in language observed in the late 19th C.

"A pupil in poor and inefficient surroundings is liable to have poor models for imitation, slovenly production, dialect or vulgar forms and poverty of vocabulary helped out by native or American slang and undesirable expressions."

(op. cit. : 42)

Thus, the language of the home, of parents, was condemned. The remedy was for the school to present a good model to the child and this model was to be the language of the teacher - imitation was still perceived as the key to success. Consequently, the teacher must possess a good and acceptable standard of pronunciation. Training colleges were urged to make this a condition of a teacher's certification. Furthermore, teachers were to study the local dialect and 'vulgar' forms of their area, paying particular attention to "wrong lengths and colours of vowels." (op. cit. : 43)

Thus, in the mid-20th C., the same attitudes as 50 years before were being expressed, the same "faults"

condemned, the same solutions advocated. The failure of policy was perceived not in terms of the principles or objectives behind it, but in terms of their implementation.

The report did recommend that there should be a "short but definite weekly period" for Scottish traditions and language in the higher classes of the primary school. The inclusion of literature in Scots was approved subject to a caveat on accepting material just because it was written in dialect. The production of readers in Scots was thought to be something to be encouraged also.

Since the report rejected Scots as not "a suitable medium of education or culture", (Primary, 1946 : 75) it might be questioned whether there is not a contradiction here. What was meant by "medium" here? The language in which the education and culture was to be conveyed (i.e. the language used for instruction) or the language in which the objects of education and culture were embodied (i.e. books, texts). If the latter interpretation were the case then there is a contradiction, for if Scots is "unsuitable" in this sense, how can approval of literature in Scots be justified? If the former interpretation were the case then there is no contradiction. A distinction of function or appropriateness is to be inferred between Standard English and Scots in the classroom. Standard English is suitable and appropriate as a medium of instruction and communication there, Scots is not. That is, Scots, even 'Good' Scots we presume, was not acceptable as a spoken form of language but only as a literary form, as an object of study.

The hierarchy of language varieties which emerges may be described in the terms proposed by Aitken (1981): Standard English which was to take precedence over all; 'Good' Scots manifested as Landward Scots and Literary Scots which might find some place in the school in the latter form; and 'Bad' Scots referring particularly to Urban Scots, which was to be condemned entirely and purged from the school, if not the child:

"Against such unlovely forms of speech masquerading as Scots we recommend that the schools should wage a planned and unrelenting campaign."

(Primary, 1946 : 76)

A theme of the past 60 years or so has been the attempts of various interested groups to put pressure on the SED to accord Scots language and literature, and, indeed, Scottish studies generally some official place in the curriculum and examinations. This may be viewed as part of the general movement to 'revive' or 'preserve' Scots.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that, while the aim of the SED was to remove Scots speech from the classroom as far as possible and to replace it with some acceptable form of English, and this was undoubtedly worked towards in practice, this is not the whole story. While the objective was certainly to get scholars to forsake the speech which they brought into the classroom from outside, unless it approximated to what was required, it would be wrong to suppose that in practice Scots in some form was entirely excluded from schools. It may be inferred reasonably from the regular complaints of SED officials that some kind of Scots speech, however it was described, was still to be heard in classrooms, and it has already been noted

that in 1946 the teaching of spoken English was judged to have been a 'comparative failure'. Furthermore, in spite of the strictures of the Department in the matter some teachers may have been more tolerant than others about what they let pass from their pupils, either out of some principle, or by plain default.

If Scots was undergoing atrophy in general speech (though, of course, it was by no means dead - nor is it yet) it achieved a partial regeneration in another sphere as a consequence of the linguistic and literary activity of the 'Scottish Renaissance' in the first half of the century. The question may be asked, therefore, whether this had any influence on educational policy; and it would seem that there was pressure exerted on the SED either directly through lobbying by various groups and individuals or indirectly through an awakened general interest in the matter. As an interesting example of this activity bearing on education, the issues of The Scottish Educational Journal (June 1925 - February 1927) included a series of studies by C.M. Grieve which covered among other wide-ranging topics the revival of contemporary literature in Scots and which provoked a great deal of correspondence.¹

In 1925 Renfrew education authority considered the matter of Scots in schools, the result being a memorandum by an executive officer on "Instruction in the Scots Vernacular in Schools". Recent activity had apparently been a spur:

"There has recently been a very general awakening throughout Scotland to the need for greater interest in the vernacular if it is to be kept

"alive in our land and many means have been taken to foster interest in the language both spoken and written."

(SED/ISVS, 1925 : 1)

There is implied a concern at the state of Scots on the part of the author, and it was obviously being perceived that the schools might have an important role to play in remedying the situation. Questions were raised, though no answers tendered, concerning standard language and dialects, the way in which the vernacular is to be studied, its relationship to English, but the bulk of the memorandum comprises the responses of head teachers in the county who had been canvassed for their views on the matter. These are worth noting because they indicate something of what actual interest and activity there was in the schools as well as revealing more about the attitudes held.

Among the opinions expressed, one school of thought did not believe Scots should have any standing in its own right in the schools, although even here claims were made that it was not being ignored:

"The opinion of some heads is to the effect that no special provision should be made for teaching of Vernacular in day schools. Several add that vernacular is the common speech in the village and 'the trouble is to teach pupils the English language'. In many, if not all, of these cases, however, it is found that in the upper classes Burns and Scott are read and parts committed to memory."

(Ibid.)

Indeed, the teaching of some Scots literature as part of the English course seems to have been not uncommon. The Ballads, Burns, Lady Nairne, Scott, Tannahill, Cunningham, Ferguson, Hogg, Stevenson, Munro and Murray were cited as

being used in teaching.

The paramouncy of teaching English was stressed, as was to be expected perhaps, with the Scots speech of pupils perceived as merely a hindrance to this.

"The greatest difficulty in all oral and written work is to make them forget the 'vernacular' ... 'A constant struggle goes on against a slovenly patois. The worst subject in every school - the furthest behind - is English and there is no time for the vernacular. It would be 'confusion worse confounded'.'"

(op. cit. : 3)

In these remarks the official, orthodox view was being restated by the heads, indicating that it had been fully received into the schools.

The substance of the vernacular as spoken by pupils was also put forward as an argument against its inclusion in the curriculum. The vernacular spoken in the West of Scotland required remedial action particularly; what had once been "a dignified language" had been "degraded to a dialect of the gutter". (op. cit. : 4) This is evidently a reference to Urban Scots. And in a phraseology that echoes earlier educational statements it was claimed that the pupils,

"speak neither English nor Scots but a bad blend of both and one requires all the time one has to teach them to speak and write fairly well in the language which is destined to be of most service to them after they have left school."

(Ibid.)

It was asserted, in effect, that "zeal for pure Scots" must be tempered by the fact that pupils were not sufficiently proficient in using English. That is, the language pupils brought to school was not acceptable, it was not even

'proper' Scots. English must be taught because it was more useful and so must have priority in the timetable to the exclusion of Scots. Anyway, urban pupils especially would have had to 'learn' Scots just as they had to learn English and which was the more important and beneficial was quite obvious.

If Scots was to be taught then the question of finding time for it, even in the English class (perhaps, especially there), was considered to be a major problem.

"If it must be taken up, something else must be dropped."

(op. cit. : 6)

The implication is that everything else already in the curriculum must have precedence, that Scots language, literature, history etc. were extra, luxuries for which time, if available at all, was limited. Indeed, it was remarked that if time was to be found, it should be a matter for individual teachers to promote any study of Scots (op. cit. : 7).

However, as has been noted, some Scots, in literature anyway, was claimed to be taught. One school reported:

"The study of the vernacular forms an integral part of the curriculum of this school. Scottish verse is both read and sung in every class, while every pupil reads the Scots novels of Scott, Stevenson, Galt, George Macdonald, Barrie, Neil Munro and others. Questions on these writers are regularly set in our examinations on Language and Literature."

(op. cit. : 6)

Pupils were also encouraged to offer articles in Scots for the school magazine, and, indeed, it was claimed,

"The Literature teachers in the secondary schools of Scotland are amongst the strongest admirers

"of the vernacular, and love to imbue their pupils with a kindred enthusiasm."

(Ibid.)

The tenor of the observations presented in this document would certainly seem to support the conclusions drawn from the Primary Report above that, at a literary level, Scots was acceptable in schools, perhaps widely, i.e. when embodied in works, novels, poems, songs, which had a cultural respectability, which were part of the Scottish tradition, but a tradition which was perceived as part of English literature. At the level of the spoken language it was either not acceptable, or much less so.

Even where Scots was dealt with in the schools, there was a notion of Scots forms which were approved and those which were not: care was taken, according to one head, to point out to pupils a difference between,

"... words which belong to the vernacular as distinct from words which one might describe as 'provincialisms'."

(op. cit. : 5)

Unfortunately no examples were given. It may be presumed that 'provincialisms' were distinctively local forms, perhaps including urban demotic forms. In another comment along the same lines concerning grammatical forms complaint was made that it was difficult to "get rid of" such forms as "I seen" and "wer" for "our". (op. cit.: 5) In some schools Scots was the object of specific language study and was perceived as a useful tool in offering insight into the history and traditions of Scotland. One head even proposed a conversation class in Scots "as a recreative subject", although this was not elaborated on. (op.

cit. : 5) Finally, on the positive side for Scots, there was an interesting comment that:

"In several schools ... effort is made to counteract the tendency, 'so common in suburban districts, to regard the speaking of it as a sign of vulgarity'."

(op. cit. : 3)

The overall impression of the situation in schools in Renfrew as outlined in this document is that Scots continued to have a foothold as an object of study and in some cases was actively encouraged within individual schools, but there was also a strong opinion against its inclusion, and prospects for gaining further ground did not seem auspicious, although the compiler of the memorandum recommended that interest where it was shown "may be regarded as worthy of the Authority's approval and encouragement". (op. cit. : 7)

In 1925 interest in Scots seems to have reached a high point. In the month of October the SED felt sufficiently interested, or pressured, to convene a Chief Inspector's Conference on the place of the "vernacular" in schools. In a letter to Sir Robert Bruce of the Glasgow Herald (27/10/25) the Secretary of the SED made mention of the mood and outcome of the meeting. The inspectors, it seems, had been sympathetic and interested, but wrote the Secretary,

"My own feeling about the matter ... is that we cannot impose another subject on the schools. They have enough on hand as it is, not all of it by any means because of Departmental 'demands'. But I do not see why a teacher who knows Scots should not teach a good deal of it without encroaching to any serious extent on time needed for anything else. Our first official duty in the way of language is to improve English, and that has been and still is, an uphill struggle."

(SED, Corr. : 1925)

A formal place for Scots in the timetable was out of the question, but said the Secretary, where it was included in the literature lesson it would not be frowned upon, indeed he thought it might be "valuable". The Secretary was simply stating and giving approval to the status quo, so that the conclusion of the Conference seems to have been, in short, to take 'no action'. But further to this, while recognising that teaching of Scots language and literature was being carried out and would continue to be carried out, the Secretary proposed limiting the nature of it. Referring to a desire by Bruce to promote Scots in the schools he remarked:

"I take it that your effort would be limited to what the psychologists call the 'recognitional' memory. You would not trouble with the 'reproductive', which is rather overworked as it is. you would, in other words be satisfied if the children could understand. This distinction is manifestly of great importance."

(Ibid.)

That is, teaching should involve only a passive knowledge of Scots (literary, it may be presumed) as opposed to an active one, so that pupils might be taught to read and to understand it, but not to speak it or write in it. The teaching of Scots might be acknowledged but clear ground rules had to be laid down.

That no significant developments or activity arose out of this seems evident from later events. Ten years later, in June 1935, representatives of the St. Andrews Society, the Burns Federation, the Scottish National Dictionary Association and the Ballad Society met with the Secretary of the SED to discuss the same matter, treatment

of Scots in Scottish schools. The purpose of the deputation was

"... to enlist the sympathy and support of the Department in their endeavour to ensure the perpetuation of the Scottish language."

(SED/Minute; 1925 : 2)

Concern was expressed over the 'decline' of the 'vernacular', notably in the cities. It was suggested that the Department might include "optional questions on Scottish language and literature" as a stimulus to its study and as a means to halting the 'decline'. It was also asked that teachers do something to dispel the notion that the 'vernacular' was vulgar. However,

"The deputation did not ask that the vernacular should be taught in schools; they merely wished it to be recognised so that there would be an incentive to study Scottish literature."

(Ibid.)

As a means of stopping, much less reversing, the trend of decline the proposals put forward do not seem realistic in the sense that they could have been effective. By claiming that they did not want Scots taught in the schools they effectively made their stated object of perpetuating Scots unattainable, given that the school was an influential agent in linguistic matters, and the deputation presumably thought so. Yet, what they did propose was realistic in another sense. It was surely being realised, given the SED's known attitude and policy, that any concessions would be small and therefore only a very conservative request would have any hope of success.

In fact, there was a precedent concerning the Leaving Certificate exams, when the English paper had permitted

answers on Burns and Scott. This was referred to in the Secretary's letter to Sir Robert Bruce cited above. Indeed, in an earlier memorandum (3/12/21) a question in the Lower English paper was criticised as scarcely suitable,

" ... without clear previous notice that questions involving a knowledge of the Scots vernacular may be set."

(SED/Memo : 1921)

This implies that many, if not most, candidates would not have been prepared to cope with such a question.

The Secretary's reply to the deputation was entirely non-committal. He could give no undertaking although he did promise to consider the points raised. It was also suggested that the deputation should seek the support of directors of education and the E.I.S.

This was the customary response of the SED to the issue. Lobbying of the Department to try to persuade it that Scots language and literature should have some statutory place in the curriculum or examinations were met with polite interest, expressions of sympathy even, and promises to consider the matter. Meanwhile, the SED continued to state its own policy, that although there was no objection to interested teachers including some study of Scots language and literature, there was no room in the school timetable for treating it in a statutory way, either as a separate subject or as a part of the English syllabus.

It would be unfair to suggest that the Department did not consider the matter. The Chief Inspectors' Conference in October, 1925 demonstrates a willingness to discuss it internally. This is exemplified also in an earlier SED

memorandum to the Secretary from an official which, while expressing sympathy with the idea of encouraging a knowledge of Scots, advised that this

" ... will succeed better if the encouragement comes from below, i.e. from a spontaneous movement of teachers and scholars rather from above by imposing it as a requirement - or semi-requirement - in our examination papers."

(SED/Memo, 1921)

Emphasis should remain on local festivals and essay competitions, it was asserted, i.e. the study of Scots should be an extra-mural affair as far as possible.

"When it has made sufficient progress there may come a time when we may give a friendly wave of the hand ... to the movement by some recognition with the Leaving Certificate examinations. But the time is not yet."

(Ibid.)

Also, in his letter to Bruce (27/10/25) the Secretary claimed that if there was ever to be a 'formal introduction' of Scots into schools, teachers and education authorities must be convinced before the SED would act.

The suggestions that the Department would respond if there was sufficient upward pressure from teachers, directors of education, the EIS and that these people should be enlisted to support the Scots cause, is, on the face of it, reasonable, and necessary also if proposals were to find any success. However, a problem lay in the highly centralised nature of Scottish education. These people themselves would tend to look upward to the Department for guidance on the matter, and the continued expression of its policy would make clear to them what that guidance would be. Any formal change in the situation would be

likely to happen only if the SED desired it. In other words something really effective could only happen if there was also 'downward' pressure.

Furthermore, it can be argued that there was 'upward pressure'. Though this was apparent in the teaching of Scots that went on already, that schools and education authorities were capable of making a varied response to encouraging study of Scots, particularly through literature, is also demonstrable. In evidence submitted to a joint meeting of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland in November 1945, it was pointed out that some 60,000 children had taken part in competitions sponsored by the Burns Federation, with twenty-four education authorities involved in encouraging schools to take part. Moreover, Scots readers had been produced in connexion with this and there had been a considerable demand for them. (SED/Minute, 1945 : 9) Indeed, the recommendation in the 1946 Report on Primary Education for a definite weekly period for Scots was probably a response to the lobbying of this committee, albeit a minimal one. There was also a restated demand that something be done "to get rid of the persistent idea ... that Scotch was vulgar". (op. cit. : 7)

Also, the schools, through the mediation of the EIS, were used for the distribution of a questionnaire for the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. The EIS offered,

" ... its own organisation for distributing material to schools throughout Scotland, undertaking to sponsor officially what was sent out."

(Letter to The Scotsman 5/10/51 from Prof. Angus McIntosh)

And support for this was also given by the Association of Directors of Education. (McIntosh, 1961 : 79 (note))

Thus, some parts of the Scottish education system were capable of sanctioning, actively supporting and generally facilitating interest in and study of Scots, particularly through literature and song but also through helping academic study. Despite this there resulted no proposals from the SED to give Scots any statutory place in the curriculum or examinations and no move was forthcoming to systematise its teaching. This has effectively been the situation up until the present. However, the recent interest in Scots over the last decade has revealed signs of changing attitudes within the Scottish education system, and a willingness to consider more purposefully the issues involved and what might practically be done to teach Scots in schools.

Perhaps, the most notable development to date has been Scottish Literature in the Secondary School (1976), a report by a sub-committee of the Scottish Central Committee on English. This document discusses the place of Scottish literature in the English curriculum; it is not considered as a separate subject. Also, the definition of Scottish literature views writings in Scots as comprising only a part, which, of course, is the case since writings in Gaelic² and English qualify just as well. Nevertheless, the committee had "no hesitation in advocating" the use of Scots dialect material as a part of this wider study. (SLSS, 1976 : 5)

The report frankly reviews the position of Scottish language and literature in the schools:

"French children study French literature, German children study German literature, English children study English literature.

In Scotland things have been different."

(op. cit. : 2)

The report clearly regards the fact that Scottish children mainly read English literature as an anomaly, although it points out, rightly, that there has not been total neglect.

"Official and semi-official policy has never explicitly discouraged the inclusion in educational practice of an element of Scottish language, literature and culture."

(op. cit. : 3)

It might also have pointed out that such an element was not often explicitly encouraged, especially from above. The point is also made that English teachers in Scotland are trained in English literature mainly and therefore will tend to have an anglocentric perspective even of Scottish literature. The report considers various other problems: influences from outwith the school, especially the Media; the problem of variation in written Scots; how much Scottish literature to include in the curriculum. While not advocating "abandonment" of the study of English, and while recognising wider cultural influences, the report comes out firmly in favour of according Scottish literature

"... a more significant place than it has had in the past."

(op. cit. : 5)

However, there was no question of formalising the position of Scots language and literature in the English curriculum: the practice of leaving it to the discretion of English departments or individuals within them should continue.

Perhaps the most important part of the report is taken

up with resources for teaching Scottish literature at different levels in the school, with suggestions and recommendations on themes and texts.

Overall, this document can be viewed as an encouragement to the treatment of Scots in schools, but Scots within a wider context, and also as a useful aid to going about it. Shying away from compulsion in the matter may seem desirable, in accordance with the ethic of a more liberal and pluralised society, yet it might be argued that since so much else is compulsory in the curriculum, why should not Scottish literature, including some Scots language, also be admitted as a statutory element in the English syllabus? If the report had come out in favour of this approach, there would be the very real problem to face that not every English department would have someone qualified or sufficiently knowledgeable to be able to undertake the teaching. On this point alone a compulsory element could not reasonably be introduced. Of course, if Scottish literature in its various forms is to be taught more widely then this is a problem which will require to be tackled.

Scots language in itself did not fall within the remit of the report, but an essay by A.J. Aitken appears, on "The Scots Language and the Teacher of English in Scotland". (op. cit. : 48-55) This is concerned with ways in which teachers and pupils can explore and come to understand varieties of Scots and English in speech and writing as approached from a modern sociolinguistic position. The conclusion is worth noting here:

" ... that our pupils deserve the chance to learn as much as we can offer them about their own

"language in their own environment, about its history and its present condition and their own position in this, at the same time acquiring tolerance for the language of their fellow countrymen and some degree of security in speech for themselves. This would seem to call for much more talk and writing of and about Scots in our schools."

(op. cit. : 55)

In terms of educational attitudes to date these ideas must be considered radical. (It should be pointed out that in terms of the report this is a "personal" statement, being included as a contribution to discussion.) If they were to form part of the philosophy behind a reformed curriculum, a new approach to what is now called "English", it would demand a complete turnaround in attitude and policy: there would have to be considerable rethinking of the syllabus, not to mention of teacher training, not only in colleges of education but also in the subjects undertaken by potential teachers at university.

But are these ideas likely to be seriously considered by Scottish educationalists? Certainly, the issue of the spoken language as well as the literary one, has been the subject of some recent thinking and discussion. In 1980, the Committee on Primary Education produced a document on Scottish-English (The Language Children Bring to School). It is a series of questions and topics for discussion on the language of Scottish schoolchildren, how the schools could treat it, the reasons for treating it and the social and educational issues involved. The language of school children is identified as Scottish-English which

" ... represents a blend between two languages, Scots and English. This blend and the possibilities offered by regional and class dialects

"affords Scottish people a wide range of linguistic choice."

(Scottish-English, 1980 : 6)

The notion that the speech of pupils is a "blend" has become acceptable, it seems, and is now perceived as something positive, offering a "choice"; there is no reference to a vernacular "to get rid of". This represents a recognition of the kind of analysis of the present-day situation as presented by Aitken (1979) and shows a greater sophistication in thinking in linguistic matters in education. The document points forward to the possibility of a radical change of attitude and approach for the future:

"Can Scottish teachers not accept that diversity in language may be a source of strength and not of weakness? Will the pupil who feels secure in school in his own language and in the language of school not have a better opportunity of using the experience he brings to school - and thereby realising his individual potential - than the pupil who may feel he is entering a world where his language, and all the individual and group experience it carries, is not highly regarded. All we have to work with is the language and the embedded experience that a child brings to school. We cannot reject this."

(op. cit. : 15)

That these proposals are founded on recent sociolinguistic thinking is apparent. Though only a discussion document there is revealed a clear perception that there are important issues concerning language in Scottish education which demand careful consideration, and this, coming from an important committee within the system is surely significant. But if these ideas are to form the basis for a future policy, then certain attitudes currently held in the education system, especially among teachers will have to be changed for such a policy to have any hope of success. (For

expressions of these see Macaulay (1977) and the second part of this study.) Whether these ideas will inform educational policy in the future remains to be seen.

How extensive a role has the education system in Scotland played as an anglicising agent? There is no doubt that it sought deliberately and purposefully to promote English language and culture in the schools. Scots, in speech, was explicitly discouraged and it only really found an acceptable place, and then in a limited way, through literature. Since in the post-1872 era schooling became universal, more or less all Scots children became exposed to English through the schools and were taught to be literate in English. It has already been observed how much more powerful the influence of English became outwith the school, especially through the media, so that schools were not the only factor. However, it can be reasonably concluded that they were an important though not crucial one. The failure by the schools to sustain and to encourage Scots language and literature was undoubtedly severely damaging. Even during this century when the support was present both from within and outwith the system for treating Scots language and literature in a modest way alongside English, the SED signally failed to respond effectively. The policy of discouraging, of attempting to outlaw, spoken Scots from the schools supported and encouraged the view that Scots was inferior and vulgar and unsuitable as a medium of expression in education. In pursuing this, the sociolinguists claim, the education system promoted in many of its pupils a lack of

self-confidence, inarticulacy and educational failure by condemning their language.

The reasons for this lie, it seems in the way the educational policy-makers, particularly in the second half of the 19th C., interpreted the language situation. English was established throughout the U.K. as the language of power and status (as, indeed, was the case throughout the Empire), being used for all functions in all spheres of contemporary life. Given this fact and given the political and social structures in which Scotland was incorporated, it was inevitable that English taught to be spoken, read and written, would form an important part of the curriculum in Scottish schools, and it may be argued that it would have been doing a dis-service, setting Scottish children at a disadvantage, had this not happened. In this matter the 19th C. policy makers formalised, advanced and extended the trends and practices which were already current in Scottish education and which had arisen by wont and custom during the 17th and particularly the 18th C.'s.

To them spoken Scots had no real status at all. The language spoken by the majority of Lowlanders (particularly by the end of the 19th C.) was not considered to be for the most part a proper rendering of the "classical Scots dialect", but was considered a mixed speech which, interpreted according to contemporary understanding of language and grammar, was a bludgeoning of Priscian's head. They could point to the fact that Scots had not been used since the end of the 16th C. as a fairly fully functional language and particularly as a medium for scholarly writings to give

it educational status and certainly had not developed a distinctive vocabulary to deal with most of the new ideas and innovations in life since then. These were embedded in the speech of Scotsmen as English adoptions by and large. No attempt was thought necessary to produce distinctive Scots counterparts, as had been done in the Middle Scots period. This, of course, was the crucial factor in the anglicisation of Scots speech. What validity Scots was believed to have was as a literary medium. It certainly held an antiquarian interest in this respect in relation to older writings, although this does not appear to have affected the schools in any way. Recent Scottish literature was considered to mirror a life-style that was either fast disappearing in many respects or had already vanished. This view even applied to highly regarded 18th C. writers such as Burns and Ramsay and to the contemporary 'Kailyard' school. The educationalists considered their themes irrelevant to the vast majority of people in a modern industrialising society with changed social conditions. This was a further reason for regarding Scots as inappropriate in schools.

As they understood the situation the policy-makers undoubtedly believed that their views and policy were for the benefit of Scottish school-children for their future in modern life. It would not have occurred to them that what they were doing could have been anything but enlightened and progressive. Their views and policy became institutionalised in the modern education system, along with the belief in their rightness, and they have prevailed

throughout much of the present century.

Thus, the thinking about language in schools eighty to an hundred years ago was in terms of the law of the excluded middle - acceptance of English entailed rejection of Scots. Now with the state of knowledge about and understanding of language the trend is to perceive diversity in language as acceptable, even beneficial, and there are signs that this is being recognised within the education system itself, and thus the wider acceptance of Scots in schools is made more possible, both as a medium of culture and as a variety of everyday speech.

The account which has been offered here has sought to outline the salient features and main trends, though with some detail where possible, and to present a rough chronology.

It is not the function or place of this present study to state how Scots might find a place in the schools, nor even to advocate whether it should do so or not. That is a matter ultimately for teachers and educationists. What should be evident is that, if it is to be accorded some more significant place than hitherto, in whatever manner, there are a number of quite complex issues to be resolved. One of these is the problem of attitudes. If Scots is to be taught, to be tolerated, particularly in accord with current ideas, then the receptivity of teachers, present and future, will be a crucial factor. As a contribution to this matter the second part of this study is concerned with attitudes of teachers at the present time to Scots forms of speech.

The attitudes of parents and society as a whole are clearly also involved crucially.

It must be for others to investigate and assess the latter.

Below we offer a preliminary investigation of the former.

CHAPTER 7 : ATTITUDE TEST (1) :
INTRODUCTION - CONSTRUCTION AND ADMINISTRATION

As part of the survey of the present-day situation of Scots in education an attempt was made to determine the attitude of some schoolteachers by means of a test which required them to respond on a questionnaire to some Scots linguistic material. By "Scots" is meant here any features of the present-day spoken language (phonological, lexical and grammatical), whether regionally or socially marked, which are exclusively Lowland Scots in immediate origin and in provenance. (See Ch. 1, pp 12-18)

The test was carried out in the summer of 1979 among 63 teachers drawn from five secondary (or high) schools in Lothian. What follows is a description of the test, its composition and its administration.

The attitude test was in two distinct parts: the first part (I) dealt with reactions to different accents; the second part (II) with lexical and grammatical features. Part I entailed the teachers listening to several accents, mainly Scots, which were presented to them on a tape-recording. The teachers were asked to respond to these on a number of parameters describing the speech and the speaker. Part II involved presenting a number of Scots lexical and grammatical items (visually) as part of another questionnaire.

The basis of part I of the test was the Matched Guise Technique (MGT), a method of comparing reactions to different language varieties and characteristics. Giles and Powesland describe the MGT thus:

"Judges are told that they are to hear the voices of different speakers, usually reading the same passage of neutral verbal material, and are asked to evaluate the speakers on a rating or bipolar adjective scale. The speech is actually produced by one speaker using realistic guises of different languages or speech characteristics."

(Giles and Powesland, 1975 : 7)

Using only one speaker to reproduce the linguistic varieties which are to be compared eliminates the effects of any interference caused by differences in personal traits of voice which could well occur if more than one speaker was used and to which the judges may react rather than to perceived differences in the structure of the linguistic material under scrutiny. The use of neutral verbal material as the content of the read passage is important for a similar reason. That is, the passage should not, as far as possible, contain any material or references that would permit a negative or positive reaction to the speaker. It is intended that reactions should be founded on linguistic cues alone. It might be doubted whether this is one hundred per cent attainable, since any passage, however carefully devised or selected, may yet contain something to which an informant may react in some measure, but by minimising the possibility of such reactions the hope is that their influence will be insignificant, and in any event the repetition of the content material by each "speaker" ought to neutralise such an effect.

Lambert in a critique of the MGT describes its purpose as:

" ... a research technique that makes use of language and dialect variations to elicit the

"stereotyped impressions or biased views of representative members of a contrasting group."

(Lambert, 1969 : 214-15)

The attitude adopted and maintained of a social, cultural or national group is extended to its language, this being a primary identifying characteristic. When a piece of speech is presented to a group of judges undertaking an MG test, it is being presented in vacuo effectively, no clues about the identity or background of the speaker being given. The speech will trigger a stereotyped reaction. In the minds of the judges it will be identified with a particular group of people, and the judgements made will be judgements of that group. Furthermore, because the linguistic stimulus is presented without any objective reference points each voice (however "real") is itself a stereotype in the sense that it stands for a particular language variety and its users, and is identifiable in part by the presence of specific stereotyped linguistic features.

In the present study the MGT has been adopted as a well-tryed method of eliciting attitude, although its application in the Scottish situation has been very limited: Cheyne (1970), Romaine (1978) and an application to the Gaelic situation, Mackinnon (1977). It has been used here to gauge the attitude of a specific occupational group, schoolteachers, to some aspects of the linguistic situation around them, viz., different accents and the speakers associated with them. The educational significance of teachers' attitudes to language has already been discussed. The concern here is not with the linguistic situation in

the school per se. Certainly, a systematic study of the way in which Scottish teachers' attitudes to language actually operate in the classroom would be extremely interesting although it is likely that considerable problems of observation technique would have to be overcome. Such a study would provide evidence, other than purely anecdotal, of what teachers actually do in the classroom, rather than of what they (or others) say they do. In fact, since the aim was not to make an educational point directly, the test put together here would be applicable not only to teachers.

The apparatus for part I of the test consisted of a tape and a questionnaire. The tape, which was recorded in the recording studio of Edinburgh University's Language Learning Centre, contained a passage of "neutral verbal material" in the form of a short piece of narrative read in a number of different accents. Lexically and grammatically the passage was Standard English. There were eleven voices on the tape: seven were guises; the four others were fillers. The seven guises were all produced by one person, a professional actress. The accents were varieties of:

1. Scottish Standard English (ES)
2. North-East Scots (NE)
3. Received Pronunciation (RP)
4. Glaswegian Urban Demotic (UD)
5. Highland English (HI)
6. Hypercorrect Scottish English - "Kelvinside" (KV)
7. Central Scots (CL)

The performer's ability to reproduce convincingly this wide range of phonetic material was facilitated both by her own personal background and her professional training and experience.

The filler voices were added to enhance the illusion that each voice was a different speaker. Three of the fillers were male, the fourth female. Two of the male voices were examples of Scottish Standard English, although one is perceivable as belonging to West Central Scotland and the other to East Central Scotland. The third male voice was RP. The female filler voice is recognisable as Scots but it exhibits some exclusively English features.

In the final form of the tape used in the test, each rendition of the passage lasts approximately 30 seconds, and in each case it is repeated so that in the course of the test the subjects hear each accent twice in succession.

The text of the passage used, which was compiled with the performer in mind, is:

"He was thirty-four he said though he looked nearer forty, tall with fair hair. He was always so calm, he never seemed to be mad at anything. I met him one day coming up by the side of the station, very red faced. I'd been out for some butter - I'm always forgetting something. He looked hard at me, and then he sighed and said, 'Just be glad you're not poor.' And those were the first words I heard him say."

The passage was constructed to incorporate lexical items, (a) which are common, everyday and non-technical and (b) which would exemplify, in discourse, a wide range of vowel sounds so that each rendition of the passage might represent something approaching the realisation of a system. As a base for constructing the passage the vowel system for

Scottish Standard English proposed by Abercrombie (1979) was adopted.

Certain consonantal realisations were considered to be important in the contrast of the accents, e.g. the degree of rhoticism in ES and RP, and the realisation of /t/ as $[\bar{t}]$ in UD and HI in the items 'butter', 'forgetting' and 'thirty'. The glottal stop, $[\bar{t}]$, is a stereotyped feature of Glasgow speech,¹¹ but it is not normally associated with Highland English. However, it is certainly to be heard (personal observation) in Inverness and on the East coast northwards into Sutherland.

Inevitably, the final products depended on the skill of the performer, but because a certain amount of linguistic "engineering" went into the making of the tape, the question arises of how "natural" the speakers on the tape sound. The aim was to vary accent while keeping lexis and grammar constant. It is probably true that there is some variation in quality in the production of the guises since, given the range of material, the performer would be able to produce some of the accents with more ease than others. Also, the fact that lexically and grammatically the passage was Standard English may detract from the naturalness of some of the guises because those accents are more normally heard in combination with at least some Scots or non-standard lexical and grammatical features. This is particularly true, perhaps, of UD, NE and CL. Effectively, the stereotyped features have been concentrated on one level, the phonological-phonetic, so casting them in sharper relief. Romaine (1978) points out:

"It is not unreasonable to suppose that all available levels of linguistic expression can and will be utilized by hearers as diagnostic of the speaker's identity. This will include among other things, lexical choice, morphological and syntactic information, phonetic/phonological variation, and tempo in addition to paralinguistic features such as voice quality."

(op. cit. : 6)

This is undoubtedly true, although with the repetition of the passage with each accent, it is very possible that the lexical and grammatical material will figure less and less prominently as factors in the evaluation of the speech/speakers as the test proceeds since it is the phonetic characteristics of each voice which will be the primary distinguishing features. If this is the case then any perceived mismatch by the judges between the accent and the lexico-grammatical material may well be resolved in the end.

Similarly, Agehyisi and Fishman (1970) point to the relationship between language variety and determining factors of choice such as domain, topic, location, role etc. of which the structure of the MGT does not take account.

"In the experimental matched-guise setting, when the judges make their evaluations of the speakers, some of the things they may be reacting to could be the congruity or lack of it, between the topic, speaker and the particular language variety. This congruity or incongruity deserves to be studied rather than obscured."

(op. cit. : 146)

Like Romaine's, this is a valid point. It is a problem that may arise however carefully the content of the material used in the test is selected and put together. Here, by presenting the material as part of a "story" which might be recounted in a variety of accents anyway it may not be

significant, although we cannot be sure. Again the repetition of the material may lessen any detrimental effect.

Such matters do warrant further exploration, however.

With these doubts in mind, a pilot test using the tape was carried out with two groups of student-teachers at a college of education. The results and general reactions suggested that the accents were sufficiently convincing.

The responses to the voices were to be made on a questionnaire (see Table 7.1) comprising a number of descriptive variables from which the subjects were asked to select those which they thought could be applied accurately to the speech (questions IA and IB(i)) and to the speaker (question IB(ii)). The variables can be grouped under headings as follows:

Speech Descriptions:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Provenance | 2. Style |
| SCOTTISH | AFFECTED/NATURAL |
| ENGLISH | HIGHFALUTIN/ORDINARY |
| RURAL/URBAN | SLOVENLY/CAREFUL |
| 2. Norm-related | 4. Aesthetic |
| CORRECT | PLEASANT |
| COULD BE/COULD NOT BE
IMPROVED | ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE |
| ACCEPTABLE/NOT ACCEPTABLE | MONOTONOUS/TUNEFUL |
| | CULTIVATED/COARSE |
| 5. Status | 6. Personal Identification |
| EDUCATED/UNEDUCATED | LIKE YOUR OWN SPEECH |

In each of the following questions four descriptions of the piece of speech are given, labelled a to d. Indicate which one of the descriptions you believe to be the most accurate in each case by circling the appropriate letter.

Example: The speech is: a. red, (b.) green, c. blue d. brown
 * * * * *

(i) The speech sounds: a. very Scottish b. fairly Scottish
 c. fairly un-Scottish d. very un-Scottish

(ii) The speech sounds: a. very English b. fairly English
 c. fairly un-English d. very un-English

(iii) The speech is: a. very correct b. fairly correct
 c. fairly incorrect d. very incorrect

(iv) The speech sounds: a. very pleasant b. fairly pleasant
 c. fairly unpleasant d. very unpleasant

(v) The speech sounds: a. very like your own speech
 b. fairly like your own speech
 c. fairly unlike your own speech
 d. very unlike your own speech

B. (i) Underline the one description in each of the following pairs which, in your opinion, can be accurately applied to the piece of speech you have just heard:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. rural/urban | 2. attractive/unattractive |
| 3. affected/natural | 4. highfalutin/ordinary |
| 5. acceptable/not acceptable | 6. cultivated/coarse |
| 7. educated/uneducated | 8. monotonous/tuneful |
| 9. slovenly/careful | 10. could be improved/
could not be improved |

(ii) Similarly, underline the one description in each of the following pairs which, in your opinion, can be accurately applied to the speaker you have just heard:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. likeable/unlikeable | 2. lively/dull |
| 3. generous/not generous | 4. intelligent/unintelligent |
| 5. honest/untrustworthy | 6. friendly/unfriendly |
| 7. in authority/in a subordinate position | |
| 8. articulate/inarticulate | 9. confident/unsure |
| 10. well-off financially/poorly-off financially | |
| 11. well-educated/poorly-educated | |
| 12. dominating/submissive | |

Speaker Descriptions:

<u>Personality Traits</u>	<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>
1. LIKEABLE/UNLIKEABLE	7. IN AUTHORITY/IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION
2. LIVELY/DULL	10. WELL OFF/POORLY OFF FINANCIALLY
3. GENEROUS/NOT GENEROUS	
5. HONEST/UNTRUSTWORTHY	<u>Intelligence</u>
6. FRIENDLY/UNFRIENDLY	4. INTELLIGENT/UNINTELL- IGENT
9. CONFIDENT/UNSURE	<u>Articulacy</u>
12. DOMINATING/SUBMISSIVE	8. ARTICULATE/INARTIC- ULATE
	<u>Educational Status</u>

11. WELL EDUCATED/POORLY EDUCATED

It will be seen that in section A there are five descriptions of the speech, each graded on a four point scale, while in section B the descriptions are presented as sets of paired bipolar opposites, B(i) applying to the speech, B(ii) to the speaker. In tests of this kind a bipolar rating scale of the type:

X . . . _ _ _ . . . Y

is used, where X and Y are opposing descriptions marking the end-points of the scale, various degrees of discrimination being permissible, depending on how fine the distinctions one wishes to be made. For example, Romaine, in a pilot study used a 7-point scale, but she observes:

" ... there is no reason for assuming that there are a given number of degrees of meaningfulness ... along which subjects can evaluate a characteristic. A three point scale, for example, in which a characteristic might be evaluated as very, average, or not very, would yield less finely discriminated judgments, but it is just as likely that it might produce clearer results."

(Romaine, 1978 : 23)

The aim in the present study was to achieve a simple and clear measure of attitude among the subjects as a group. In section IB they were asked to respond either X or Y on each characteristic, no degree of discrimination in between being allowed. By restricting the choice in this way the subjects were being compelled to make a simple, clear-cut response. A similar scale was used by Mackinnon (1977). However, they were also given the option of not responding at all on a variable if they did not think it was applicable. The five variables in section A were intended to give a measure of attitude towards the accents, limited in scope but with a degree of discrimination.

The method adopted for part II of the test is essentially based on that used by K-I Sandred in a study (forthcoming) of the social distribution of some lexical and grammatical items in Edinburgh.

A number of lexical and grammatical Scotticisms were selected according to "markedness". (See Ch. 1 , pp 16-17) The items were chosen according to Aitken's broad analysis, relating markedness and social class. (Aitken (1979 : 104-110)) A finer analysis is not really possible at the moment since

" ... we are totally lacking in any but impressionistic observations of the frequency, occasions of incidence, and distributions by regions, socio-economic class, sex, age and degree of style formality, of ... different categories of Scotticisms.

(op. cit. : 110)

The results of this part of the questionnaire may provide some confirmation, or otherwise, of these "impressionistic"

observations". The items, which are grouped according to Aitken's analysis of them, are:

1. UNMARKED, used unconsciously by middle-class speakers
 - (a) to doubt that : 'to be inclined to think'
 - (b) thats : genitive of relative pronoun, (corresp. to StE 'whose')
2. MARKED, used consciously by middle-class speakers
 - (a) shoogly : 'shaky, unsteady'
 - (b) stravaig (v) : 'to wander, roam about (without purpose)'
 - (c) dreich : 'miserable, dreary'
3. UNMARKED, for working-class speakers; MARKED, negatively for middle-class speakers
 - (a) never ... none : a form of multiple negation, but not exclusively Scots - found in other varieties of non-StE
 - (b) sellt : preterite form of 'sell' - 'sold'
 - (c) ken? : tag question
 - (d) youse : 2nd person plural personal pron.
4. MARKEDNESS UNCERTAIN, possibly used by both middle and working-class speakers, though by the former as part of an informal style
 - (a) chum (v) : 'to accompany s.o.'
 - (b) what a laugh if : 'wouldn't it be funny if'
 - (c) to be up to high doh : 'to be very overwrought, keyed up'
 - (d) will can do s.t. : 'will be able to do s.t.' - double auxiliary construction

The fifteen items were incorporated into phrases to help bring out their meaning and to indicate their grammatical status. The phrases, in their order of presentation were:

1. This table's shoogly.
2. I doubt they're not coming.
3. Can I chum you to the shops.
4. She said she never saw none.
5. They've been stravaiging all over the town.
6. The girl that's car was stolen.
7. What a laugh if it was true.
8. They sellt the house.
9. Jim'll can see to it.
10. She was up to high doh about it.
11. The one on the corner, ken?
12. It was a dreich day.
13. We had to humph it all the way upstairs.
14. Are youse staying here?

Each item was printed at the top of a page on the questionnaire. (See over page) One argument against this method is that these items are not, for the most part, encountered in written form being part of the spoken language primarily, so that they are not being presented here in their natural environment; although it was to be made clear to the subjects that the questionnaire was concerned with the spoken language. The alternative was to present the phrases on tape, but in doing so this would entail introducing accent as a further variable thus defeating the aim of eliciting responses to the lexico-grammatical material alone. There were also practical reasons for not using a tape as it allowed more flexibility in administering the test since it was not certain how much time would be available with the subjects.

This table's shoogly.

I do not know the expression: ☐

* * * * *

(In questions (1)-(3) place a tick in the boxes beside the descriptions with which you agree.)

- (1) Is this expression: (a) Acceptable in the classroom - ☐
(b) Acceptable in everyday speech - ☐
(c) Acceptable nowhere - ☐

- (2) Is it: (a) English - ☐
(b) Scots - ☐
(c) Don't know - ☐

- (3) (i) If it is 2a., English, is it: (a) Standard - ☐
(b) Non-standard - ☐
(c) Don't know - ☐

(ii) If it is 2b., Scots, would you be more likely to hear it:

- (a) In the country - ☐
(b) In the town - ☐
(c) In both country and town - ☐
(d) Don't know - ☐

Continued

(4) Underline those jobs in the following list you might expect someone using this expression to do:

lawyer clergyman farmer teacher
nurse social-worker shop-keeper
office-worker bank-clerk miner
shop assistant factory-worker
farm-worker cleaner

(5) Do you ever use this expression yourself?

YES	<input type="checkbox"/>
NO	<input type="checkbox"/>

If YES, briefly state on what sort of occasion and to whom:

The questions asked of the items are concerned with acceptability (question 1), awareness of regional ((2) and (3)) and social (4) distribution and usage (5). It was decided (following Sandred) that the most practical way of determining perception of social distribution was through relating an item to the occupation of the user. For most people there is probably a good correlation between social status and occupation. The occupations listed are familiar and intended to be readily identifiable in terms of status.

It was proposed to explain to the subjects that if they did not understand or had never heard an item before they should indicate this in the space provided, leave that page and go on to the next one.

To obtain a sample of subjects, a number of school-teachers were to be selected from various schools in Lothian Region. Lothian was chosen because of its convenience. Originally it was thought that teachers might be selected from schools in different regions in Scotland to try to obtain as wide a cross-section of Scottish teachers as possible, but considerations of time and finance rendered such a scheme impractical.

To begin with, a sample of secondary teachers was arranged, mainly because of their greater availability as compared with primary teachers in the school situation. The timetabling in most Scottish secondary schools allows non-teaching periods, i.e. a period when a teacher is not taking a class but may be engaged in preparation work or other school business. In the event, by the time the secondary teachers had been tested it was decided that there

was not a sufficient amount of time to arrange a test with any sizeable sample of primary teachers. Reluctantly, extending the sample in this way was abandoned. Therefore the sample consists only of secondary teachers.

In selecting the sample it was decided to take a sample of schools and then a sample of teachers from each school. Permission having been received from Lothian Region Education Authority to proceed with the project, consultations were held with a representative of the Authority. The schools were to be representative of different areas and so were selected on the basis of their catchment area, i.e. the general socio-economic mix of the area from which the pupils attending the schools are drawn. Five schools were selected, three in Edinburgh, one in Midlothian and one in West Lothian:

1. F - South Edinburgh, 6-year, catchment area includes a large council scheme.
2. C - West Edinburgh, 6-year, catchment area contains a good deal of private, residential housing although the school also draws from a council scheme.
3. G - Midlothian, 6-year, situated between two towns and drawing pupils from both. One is a mining community but children from the surrounding rural area attend also. Many of the staff live in Edinburgh and commute, though some live locally.
4. T - West Central Edinburgh, 6-year, situated in an inner city area which contains a lot of

old tenement housing. High proportion of the pupils are from a working-class background.

5. A - West Lothian, 6-year, situated in a mining town in the far west of the region. The catchment area comprises the town and the surrounding countryside.

The schools having been selected, in each case the head teacher was approached and the broad purpose of the test was explained. He was told that a sample of the teaching staff was required to undertake a questionnaire on Scots varieties of language. It was proposed that the sample should consist of 10 to 20 teachers, and a method of selecting it was suggested, using systematic randomization. Very simply, every n^{th} name on the staff list might be selected ('n' depending on the size of the staff) and if any teacher picked out was not available or unwilling to take part then the immediately following name on the list should be chosen. A time was arranged for going to the school and administering the test.

The teachers undertaking the test would have to do so during one of their non-teaching periods so that the school timetable determined the sample to a large extent. In fact, in the end what was obtained was an "incidental" or "accidental" sample and not a "random" sample, since, defining the term strictly, it was not the case that every member of the population (the teaching staff of the school) had an equal chance of being selected, external factors having too great an influence. (Lewis, 1967 : 99) The imbalance in the numbers for sex, age-group and subject

demonstrates this clearly. (See tables below) How representative of Scottish secondary teachers locally, regionally and nationally the present sample (itself the combination of several group samples) is must, therefore, remain debatable. No doubt the wider the reference attributed to the sample, the less credible it will be representatively. Accordingly, the results of the test must be interpreted very cautiously. Nevertheless, it is probably true that Scottish secondary teachers constitute a fairly close-knit and uniform occupational and socio-economic group, certainly in terms of educational background and training: most will have obtained a degree from a Scottish university and will have trained at a Scottish college of education.

The test was administered in the five schools in June and July, 1979 in the schools' summer term. The schools were visited in the order F, C, G, T, A. Only one visit was required to each school to fulfil the pre-stated requirement, the testing of 10 to 20 teachers, however, a convenient occasion had to be arranged with the school. In each school a room was provided. The subjects undertook the test in groups varying in size from two to fourteen. The procedure for administering the test was as follows. The subjects were asked to supply the following details on the questionnaire before commencing the test: sex; age-group (i.e. 20-29, 30-39 &c.); subject(s) they teach; place of origin. It was decided that grouping age in ten-year bands was sufficient for the

Table 7.4

(i) TEACHERS' SUBJECTS REPRESENTED IN THE SAMPLE AND (ii) THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN EACH SCHOOL

(i)

English	10	Mathematics	5
Latin/English	1	Science	2
Modern Languages	6	Physics/Maths	1
Geography	3	Technical	3
History	4	Business Studies	2
Modern Studies	1	Physical/Outdoor Edu.	5
History/Mod. Studs.	2	Remedial	4
Geography/History	1	Religious Education	3
English/Geog./Hist.	1	Music	2
Geography/Eng./Maths	1	Art	3
English/Geography	1	Unspecified	2

This shows all the subjects and their combinations taught by the teachers in the sample.

(ii) Distribution of subjects in each school

F:	Geography	3	Technical	2
	Geog./History	1	Science	1
	History/Mod. St.	1	Mathematics	1
	Modern Langs.	2	Business Studs.	1
C:	Remedial	3	Religious Educ.	3
	Physical/Out. E.	4	Modern Studs.	1
	Art	2	Unspecified	1
G:	Maths	3	English	4
	Chemistry	1	Physics/Maths	1
	History	3	Eng./Geog./Hist.	1
	Music	1	Art	1
	Business Studs.	1		
T:	English	3	Mathematics	1
	Latin/English	1	Modern Langs.	2
	Technical	1	History/Mod.St.	1
	Physical Educ.	1	Unspecified	1

Table 7.3

CORRELATION OF TEACHERS' AGE GROUP WITH SEX

		20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	
ALL:	m	8	11	6	4	29
	f	20	8	2	4	34
		28	19	8	8	63
F:	m	1	2	1	1	5
	f	7	0	0	0	7
		8	2	1	1	12
C:	m	4	2	1	0	7
	f	3	0	2	2	7
		7	2	3	2	14
G:	m	1	4	3	1	9
	f	3	3	0	1	7
		4	7	3	2	16
T:	m	1	1	1	2	5
	f	4	2	1	0	6
		5	3	1	2	11
A:	m	1	1	1	0	3
	f	3	3	0	1	7
		4	4	1	1	10

Table 7.4 (continued)

A:	English	3	Eng./Geog.	1
	Geog./Eng./Math.	1	Modern Langs.	2
	Remedial	1	Music	1
	History	1		

purposes of the present study, a precise statement not being very meaningful. By "place of origin" was meant the place where they thought they came from - where they were brought up and went to school. They were then told that they were going to hear a number of speakers on a tape-recording, all telling the same part of a story. They would hear each speaker twice. The questionnaire was explained to them, any queries being answered, and the test proceeded.

The first voice played was a filler, which was to enable the subjects to become familiar with the task. Each voice was played once followed by a pause of approximately 20 sec. before it was repeated. The next voice was not started until all the judges had completed their responses. The voices were presented in the following order:

1. Filler - ES (West)
2. Guise - ES
3. Guise - UD
4. Filler - RP
5. Guise - NE
6. Guise - RP
7. Filler - ES (East)
8. Guise - HI
9. Guise - KV
10. Filler - ES
11. Guise - CL

The test took 30 - 35 minutes to administer on each occasion. The subjects were told they could respond on the questionnaire as they listened. Many seemed to listen

to the first playing of a voice before tackling the questionnaire, continuing to mark it as they listened to the second playing. It was observed also that the time taken to respond to each voice decreased as the test went on. In other words a learning effect was apparent as familiarity with the task increased.

CHAPTER 8 : ATTITUDE TEST (2) :

THE RESULTS, IA - ACCENT

In this chapter the results for Part I of the test, dealing with attitudes to accents and speakers are presented and analysed. Procedures and methods of analysis are described at the appropriate points in the course of the chapter. Section A of Part I is dealt with first.

Section A asked the teachers to respond to each of the taped accents by rating them in relation to five characteristics. Each characteristic, X, was expressed on a scale which required the respondents to decide whether an accent was X or un-X and whether it was VERY or FAIRLY X or un-X. The characteristics are (i) SCOTTISH (ii) ENGLISH (iii) CORRECT (iv) PLEASANT (v) LIKE YOUR OWN SPEECH. The interpretation of the results from these is necessarily impressionistic since the structure and outcome of the variables do not lend themselves to a statistical analysis.

Variable A(i) - SCOTTISH Table 8.1, Figure 8.1

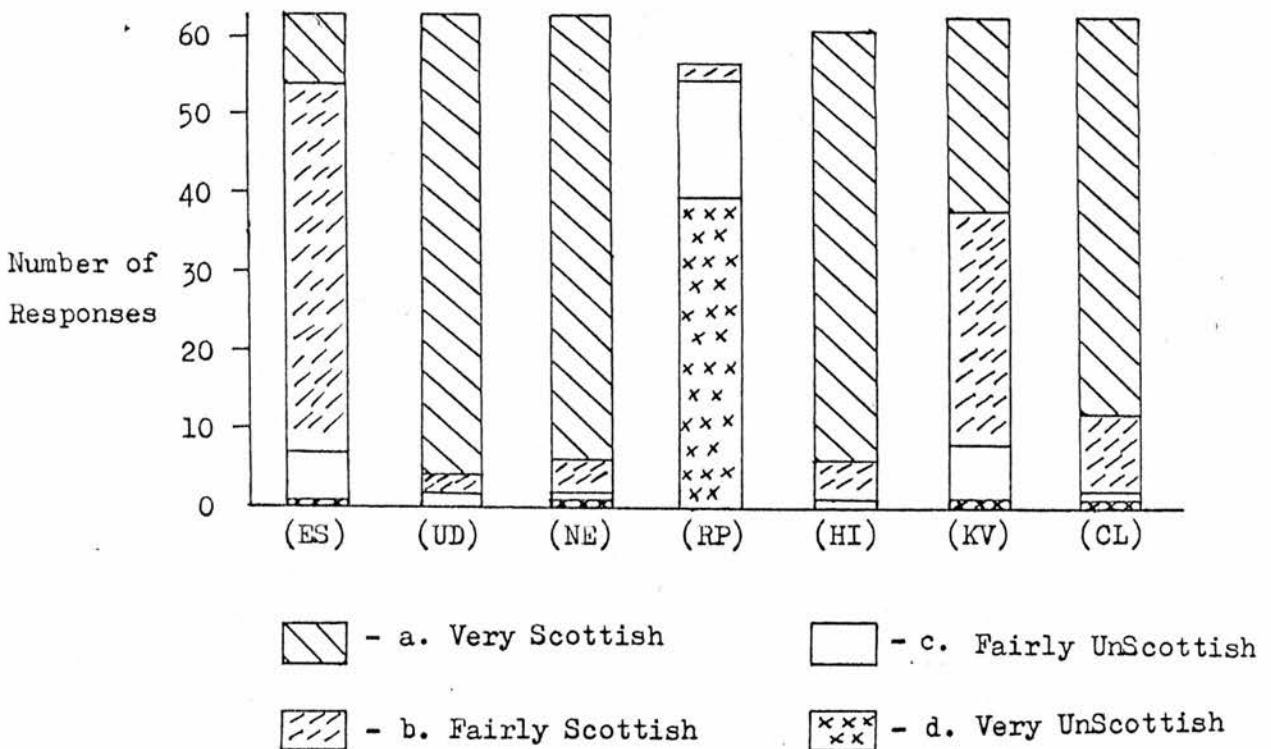
The purpose of the first variable A(i) SCOTTISH is self-evident: simply to determine to what extent the teachers perceived each accent as Scottish, or not so.

UD and NE were each rated by over 90% of the entire sample of 63 teachers as a. VERY SCOTTISH, UD by 59 (93.6%) and NE by 57 (90.5), while HI and CL were also perceived as VERY SCOTTISH by slightly fewer although by over 80% in each case, HI by 55 (87.3), CL by 51 (80.9). Some

Table 8.1 Variable A(i) - "Scottish"

		(ES)	(UD)	(NE)	(RP)	(HI)	(KV)	(CL)
Very Scottish	n	9	59	57	0	55	25	51
	%	14.3	93.6	90.5	0.0	87.3	39.7	80.9
Fairly Scottish	n	47	2	4	2	5	30	10
	%	74.6	3.2	6.3	3.2	7.9	47.6	15.9
Fairly UnScottish	n	6	2	1	15	1	7	1
	%	9.5	3.2	1.6	23.8	1.6	11.1	1.6
Very UnScottish	n	1	0	1	40	0	1	1
	%	1.6	0.0	1.6	63.5	0.0	1.6	1.6
No Return	n	0	0	0	6	2	0	0
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5	3.2	0.0	0.0

Figure 8.1



informants in each of these cases perceived the accents as b. FAIRLY SCOTTISH, the largest number being 10 (15.9) for CL. The numbers who rated these four accents as UNSCOTTISH can probably be dismissed with safety as insignificant.

Of the other accents, two, KV and ES, were perceived overall considerably less as SCOTTISH, i.e. 25 (39.7) rated KV as a. VERY SCOTTISH but 30 (47.6) saw it as b. FAIRLY SCOTTISH, so that while 87.3% of the teachers reckoned this accent to be SCOTTISH more than half of them judged it to be so only in the lesser degree, FAIRLY so; and ES was rated by only 9 (14.3) as a. VERY SCOTTISH but by 47 (74.6) as b. FAIRLY so, that is, 89% of the teachers thought that this accent was SCOTTISH but most, comprising three-quarters of the entire sample rated it as only FAIRLY SCOTTISH.

Thus, of these six accents which were all perceived clearly as SCOTTISH, ES seems to have been evaluated as the least identifiable as so across the group of informants, with KV judged as more so, but not to the same extent as the others, UD, NE, CL, HI.

The remaining accent, RP was the only one to be rated overall as UNSCOTTISH, and conclusively so. 40 (63.5) of the respondents decided that RP was d. VERY UNSCOTTISH and just under a quarter, 15 (23.8), thought that it was c. FAIRLY UNSCOTTISH. Only 2 (3.2) rated it as SCOTTISH and then as b. FAIRLY so.

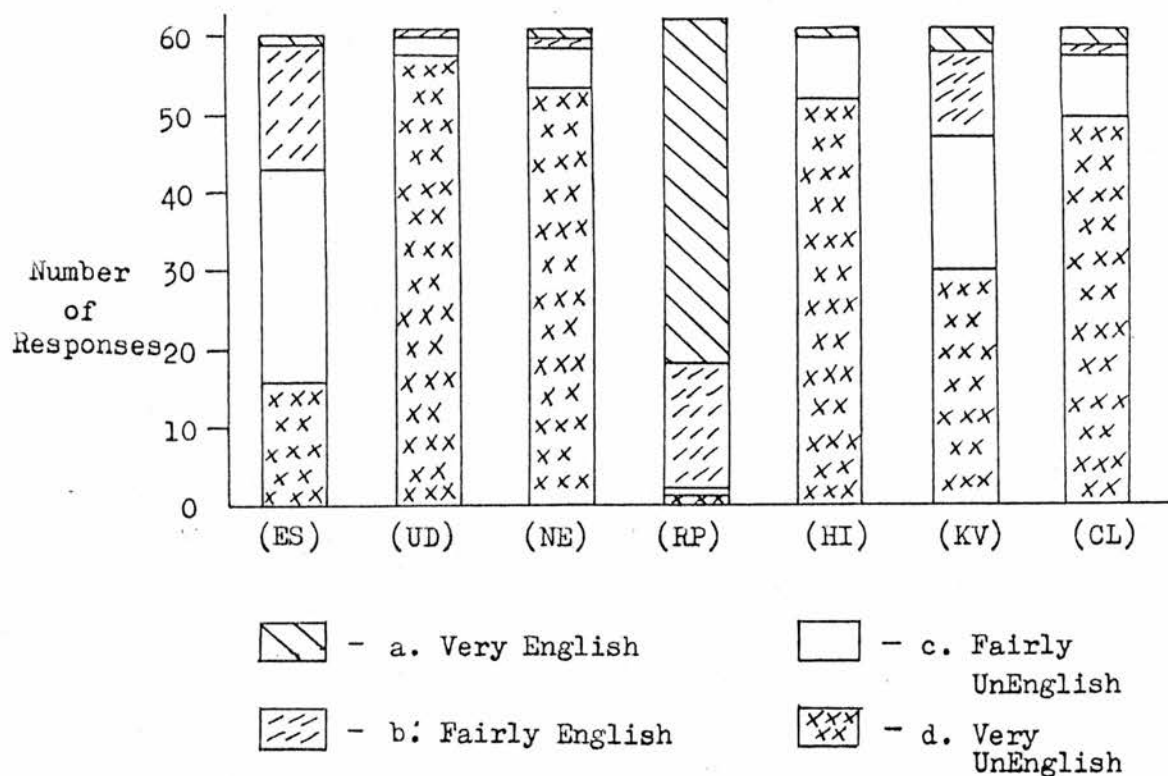
Variable A(ii) - ENGLISH Table 8.2, Figure 8.2

The results for this variable must be considered in relation to those for A(i) SCOTTISH since it was intended to be complementary to it. Figure 8.2a₁ is a graphic comparison of the results for the two variables.

Table 8.2 Variable A(ii) - "English"

		(ES)	(UD)	(NE)	(RP)	(HI)	(KV)	(CL)
Very English	n	1	0	1	44	1	3	2
	%	1.6	0.0	1.6	69.8	1.6	4.7	3.2
Fairly English	n	16	1	1	16	0	11	1
	%	25.4	1.6	1.6	25.4	0.0	17.5	1.6
Fairly UnEnglish	n	27	2	5	1	8	17	8
	%	42.8	3.2	7.9	1.6	12.7	27.0	12.7
Very UnEnglish	n	16	58	54	1	52	30	50
	%	25.4	92.0	85.7	1.6	82.5	47.6	79.3
No Return	n	3	2	2	1	2	2	2
	%	4.8	3.2	3.2	1.6	3.2	3.2	3.2

Figure 8.2



UD, NE, HI and CL were quite clearly all perceived by the vast majority of the teachers as d. VERY UNENGLISH, UD by 58 (92.0), NE by 54 (85.7), HI by 52 (82.5) and CL by 50 (79.3). Quite small numbers rated these accents as c. FAIRLY UNENGLISH, 8 (12.7) in the case of both HI and CL, 5 (7.9) in that of NE and 2 (3.2) in that of UD. KV was thought to be UNENGLISH by three-quarters of the respondents, 30 (47.6) having rated it as VERY UNENGLISH and 17 (27.0) as FAIRLY UNENGLISH. A small minority did regard it as ENGLISH, 11 (17.5) seeing it as b. FAIRLY so and 3 (4.7) as a. VERY ENGLISH. This accent was, then, perceived as UNENGLISH by notably fewer in the greater and by more in the lesser degree than were UD, NE, HI and CL. ES was rated by some 68%, or two-thirds, as UNENGLISH also. The majority of these, 27 (42.8), perceived this accent as FAIRLY UNENGLISH, while 16 (25.4), saw it as VERY UNENGLISH. A further quarter thought that ES was b. FAIRLY ENGLISH, but only one believed it to be VERY so. Other than ^{that} it was not VERY ENGLISH there was no real agreement about how to interpret ES in terms of this variable, even less so than in the case of KV, although both were reckoned by majorities to be UNENGLISH. In the case of ES the majority of these thought it was only FAIRLY so, while the majority in the case of KV was in favour of VERY UNENGLISH. The teachers then would appear to have perceived ES as the accent among the SCOTTISH ones least identifiable in terms of ENGLISH/UNENGLISH.

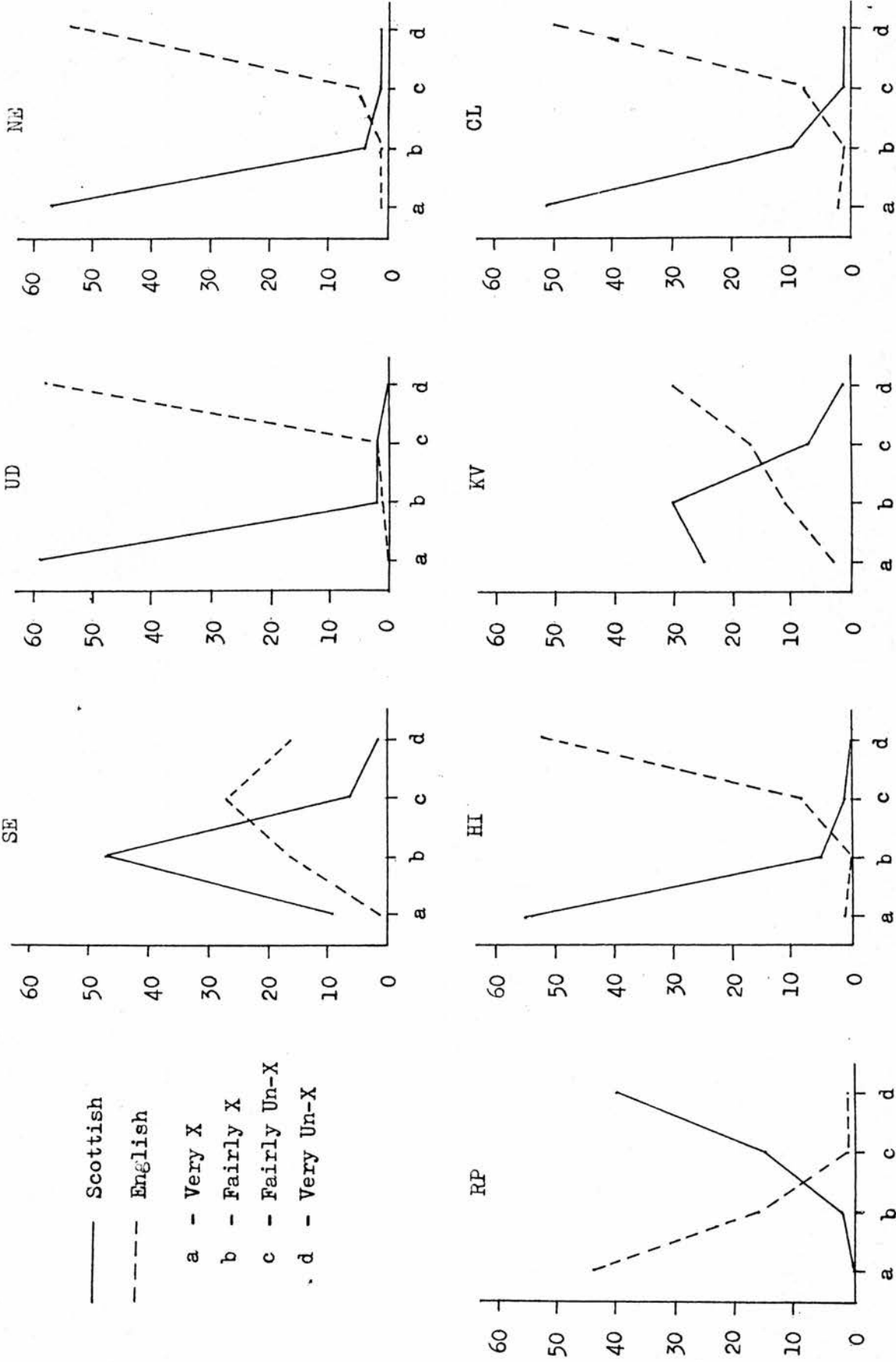
RP was unquestionably judged to be ENGLISH overall, by 95% of the teachers, 44 (69.8) rating it as VERY ENGLISH

and 16 (25.4) as FAIRLY so. Only 2 (3.2) thought that it was UNENGLISH at all.

Figure 8.2a shows how the results for A(ii) ENGLISH compare with those for (i) SCOTTISH. The distribution of the responses for ENGLISH produce what is roughly a mirror-image of those for SCOTTISH. UD, NE, RP, HI, CL and ES all demonstrate this clearly, and KV to a lesser extent. That is, where the vast majority of respondents rated an accent as VERY SCOTTISH, it was also marked by like numbers as VERY UNENGLISH. In the case of RP, it was rated by a sizeable number as VERY ENGLISH and also as VERY UNSCOTTISH by a similar number. The patterning holds across both degrees, though not so well in the instance of KV. This suggests an obvious and not unexpected degree of inverse relationship holding for six of the accents between the two variables, which relationship may be stated: an accent which is perceived as SCOTTISH is also perceived as UNENGLISH, and one which is perceived as ENGLISH is also perceived as UNSCOTTISH. The one accent which does not fit this very well is ES; while it was perceived clearly as FAIRLY SCOTTISH there was no agreement about its status in terms of ENGLISH.

The fact that RP was perceived as ENGLISH and as UNSCOTTISH is interesting, for although it is generally regarded by linguists as non-regional (i.e. in the strict geographical sense that it is found all over the UK) (e.g. Trudgill, 1975 : 20; O'Connor, 1973 : 128) and is spoken by a small number of native-born Scots "almost universally of high social standing",¹ (Aitken, 1979 : 10), it is probably true

Figure 8.2a Comparison of "Scottish" with "English"



to say that it is not generally accepted by Scots as belonging to Scotland but is an accent introduced from outside, from England. That is, RP in Scotland is a regionally, or perhaps nationally, marked accent. The result obtained here would seem to support this.

These may seem an obvious set of conclusions, but perception of speech as SCOTTISH or ENGLISH may be an important factor in attitude and therefore it is necessary to establish specific perceptions about this from the sample of informants if the responses given on other variables are to be fully understood.

Variable A(iii) CORRECT Table 8.3, Figure 8.3

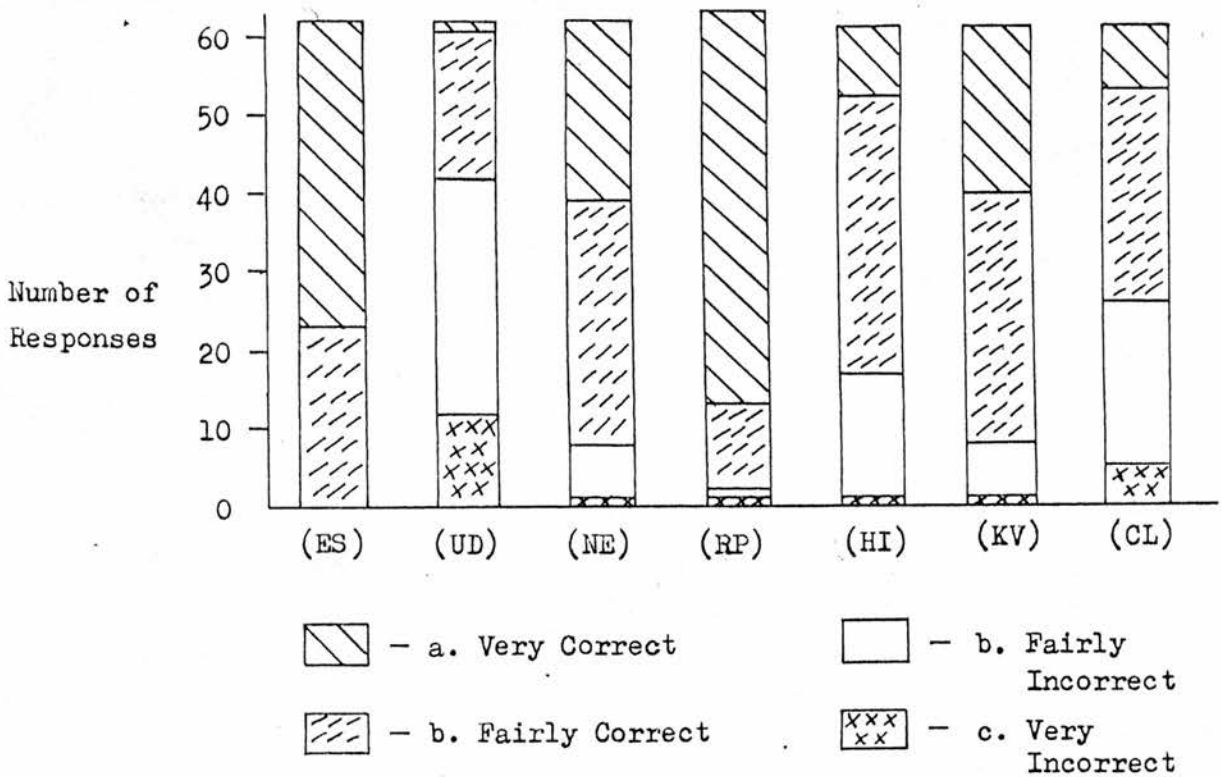
RP was quite clearly perceived as CORRECT overall; indeed, only 2 (3.2) thought that it was INCORRECT. The majority 50 (79.4) rated it as VERY CORRECT, 11 (17.4) as FAIRLY so. ES was also perceived as CORRECT overall, none, in fact, having rated it as INCORRECT, however the informants were not entirely agreed as to degree, 39 (61.9) believing it to be VERY CORRECT and 23 (36.5) to be FAIRLY CORRECT.

For NE and KV the distribution of responses is very similar. NE was rated by 23 (36.5) as VERY CORRECT, by 31 (49.2) as FAIRLY CORRECT, with 7 (11.1) and 1 (1.6) perceiving it as FAIRLY INCORRECT and VERY INCORRECT respectively. This compares with KV, perceived by 21 (33.3) as VERY CORRECT and by 32 (50.8) as FAIRLY CORRECT, with the same numbers rating KV as VERY INCORRECT and FAIRLY so as NE. Both accents were judged overall to be CORRECT by most of the informants, but opinion was divided as to

Table 8.3 Variable A(iii) - "Correct"

		(ES)	(UD)	(NE)	(RP)	(HI)	(KV)	(CL)
Very Correct	n	39	1	23	50	9	21	8
	%	61.9	1.6	36.5	79.4	14.3	33.3	12.7
Fairly Correct	n	23	19	31	11	35	32	27
	%	36.5	30.2	49.2	17.4	55.5	50.8	42.9
Fairly Incorrect	n	0	30	7	1	16	7	21
	%	0.0	47.6	11.1	1.6	25.4	11.1	33.3
Very Incorrect	n	0	12	1	1	1	1	5
	%	0.0	19.0	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6
No Return	n	1	1	1	0	2	2	2
	%	1.6	1.6	1.6	0.0	3.2	3.2	3.2

Figure 8.3



degree, although a majority in each case perceived these accents as FAIRLY CORRECT.

HI was also regarded as CORRECT overall, most rating it as FAIRLY so, i.e. 35 (55.5); 9 (14.3) viewed it as VERY CORRECT. A quarter, 16 (25.4) thought that it was FAIRLY INCORRECT with only one reckoning it to be VERY so.

The verdict on CL is not at all clear. While small numbers decided that it was VERY CORRECT, 8 (12.7), and VERY INCORRECT, 5 (1.6), most of the group, over three-quarters, were divided over whether this accent was FAIRLY CORRECT, 27 (42.9) and FAIRLY INCORRECT, 21 (33.3), a small majority favouring the former description but hardly conclusive.

The only accent to have been rated overall as INCORRECT was UD, by two-thirds of the respondents, though the majority of these, 30 (47.6), perceived it as FAIRLY INCORRECT, and only 12 (19.0) regarded it as VERY INCORRECT. Of the remainder, 19 (30.2) opted to describe it as FAIRLY CORRECT but only one as VERY CORRECT.

This question suggests a "norm" of correctness which some accents may be perceived as closer to than others. In some cases a high level of agreement is found. RP might have been expected to produce good agreement that it was CORRECT, and the fact that nearly 80% rated RP as VERY CORRECT is not surprising as this is the accent with most prestige and status in the English-speaking world. That two informants regarded it as INCORRECT is interesting: either they did not approve of the specific example presented to them, or it may be interpreted as a reaction against

this form of speech, a calculated expression of hostility towards it. The same may be said of the reaction to UD which might have been expected to receive a broadly unfavourable reaction, if not a hostile one, but in fact only a fifth of the teachers saw it as VERY INCORRECT, just under a half as only FAIRLY so. Did the grammatical context in which it was presented influence the reaction, softening it? Was it that this example was less "broad" than the teachers' notion of the "real" thing? These are possible explanations. Of course, it is possible that urban demotic speech is actually less unfavourably perceived than has been supposed here.

ES, NE and KV seem to have been moderately well favoured as to "correctness", ES particularly so since none felt it to be at all INCORRECT, while with regard to CL the teachers were divided, with no agreed overall response being indicated, although a small majority did favour it generally as CORRECT.

Variable A(iv) - PLEASANT Table 8.4, Figure 8.4

The accent which was perceived most as PLEASANT was NE. None, in fact, thought that it was UNPLEASANT. 43 (68.3) found it VERY PLEASANT and the remainder, 20 (31.7), as FAIRLY so.

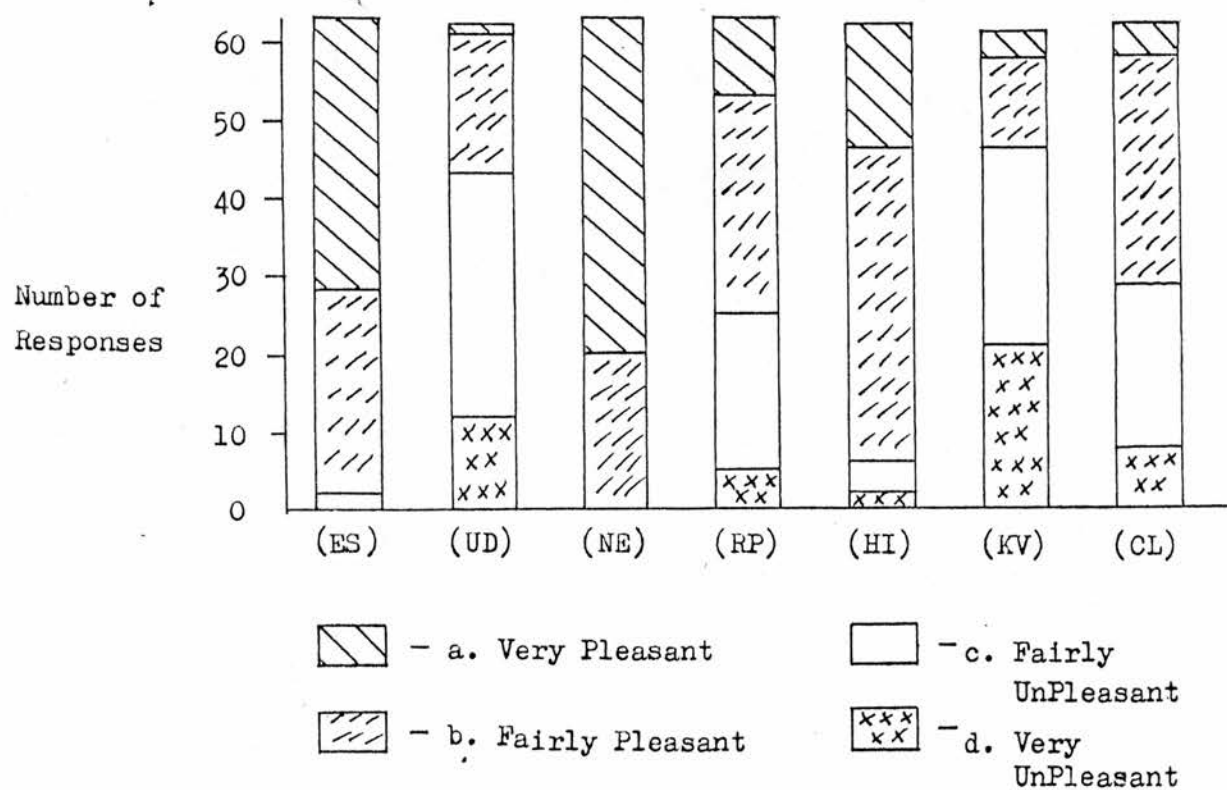
ES was rated by the vast majority as PLEASANT, only 2 (3.2) having adjudged it FAIRLY UNPLEASANT. However, it was perceived by fewer as VERY PLEASANT and by more as only FAIRLY PLEASANT than NE. 35 (55.5) indicated ES was VERY PLEASANT and 26 (41.3) that it was FAIRLY PLEASANT.

HI was also evaluated overall as PLEASANT by a consid-

Table 8.4: Variable A(ii) - "Pleasant"

		(ES)	(UD)	(NE)	(RP)	(HI)	(KV)	(CL)
Very Pleasant	n	35	1	43	10	16	3	4
	%	55.5	1.6	68.3	15.9	25.4	4.8	6.4
Fairly Pleasant	n	26	18	20	28	40	12	29
	%	41.3	28.6	31.7	44.4	63.5	19.0	46.0
Fairly UnPleasant	n	2	31	0	20	4	25	21
	%	3.2	49.2	0.0	31.8	6.3	39.7	33.3
Very UnPleasant	n	0	12	0	5	2	21	8
	%	0.0	19.0	0.0	7.9	3.2	33.3	12.7
No Return	n	0	1	0	0	1	2	1
	%	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	3.2	1.6

Figure 8.4



erable majority, only 6 (9.5) seeing it as UNPLEASANT, but most, 40 (63.5), thought it was only FAIRLY PLEASANT, a quarter, 16 (25.4), rating it VERY PLEASANT.

The respondents were not agreed as to the status of RP with respect to this variable. Overall, 60% thought that it was PLEASANT and 40% that it was UNPLEASANT. 10 (15.9) rated it as VERY PLEASANT and 5 (7.9) as VERY UNPLEASANT, but most were divided as to whether it was FAIRLY PLEASANT, 28 (44.4), or FAIRLY UNPLEASANT, 20 (31.8).

CL shows a very similar distribution of responses to that of RP. 4 (6.4) rated it as VERY PLEASANT and 8 (12.7) as VERY UNPLEASANT. Again the majority were split over whether it was FAIRLY PLEASANT, 29 (46.0), or FAIRLY UNPLEASANT, 21 (33.3).

KV and UD were both rated overall by the majority in each case as UNPLEASANT, KV by 72%, UD by 68%. With KV there was no real agreement as to whether it was FAIRLY or VERY UNPLEASANT, 25 (39.7) opting for the former and 21 (33.3) for the latter. UD was rated by half of the informants, 31 (49.2), as FAIRLY UNPLEASANT and by only 12 (19.0) as VERY so. 18 (28.6) did think it was FAIRLY PLEASANT and only one that it was VERY PLEASANT. It would seem that UD was perceived rather more favourably than KV with respect to this variable.

NE was quite clearly the accent found by most to be the most PLEASANT. ES and HI seem to have been well favoured also, albeit to a slightly lesser extent. Concerning the other accents there was no good agreement, particularly over CL and RP, with small majorities favouring them overall but also sizeable minorities not favouring

them. The least favoured accents were clearly UD and KV with two-thirds and more expressing disapproval of them with respect to the variable descriptions.

Variable A(v) - LIKE YOUR OWN SPEECH Table 8.5, Figure 8.5

The final variable in this section asked the teachers to rate how closely or otherwise they thought their own speech compared with each of the test accents. The aim was to find out which accent(s) the teachers identified with most strongly.

Looking at the results in Table 8.5, it is clear that for six of the accents the informants do not seem to have identified with them at all. Most of them rated them, UD 44 (69.8), NE 32 (50.8), RP 41 (65.1), HI 36 (57.1), KV 47 (74.6) and CL 37 (58.7), as VERY UNLIKE their own speech. The remainder mainly rated these as FAIRLY UNLIKE, although 9 (14.3) thought that NE was FAIRLY LIKE. None at all identified with HI, only one with UD and 2 with KV.

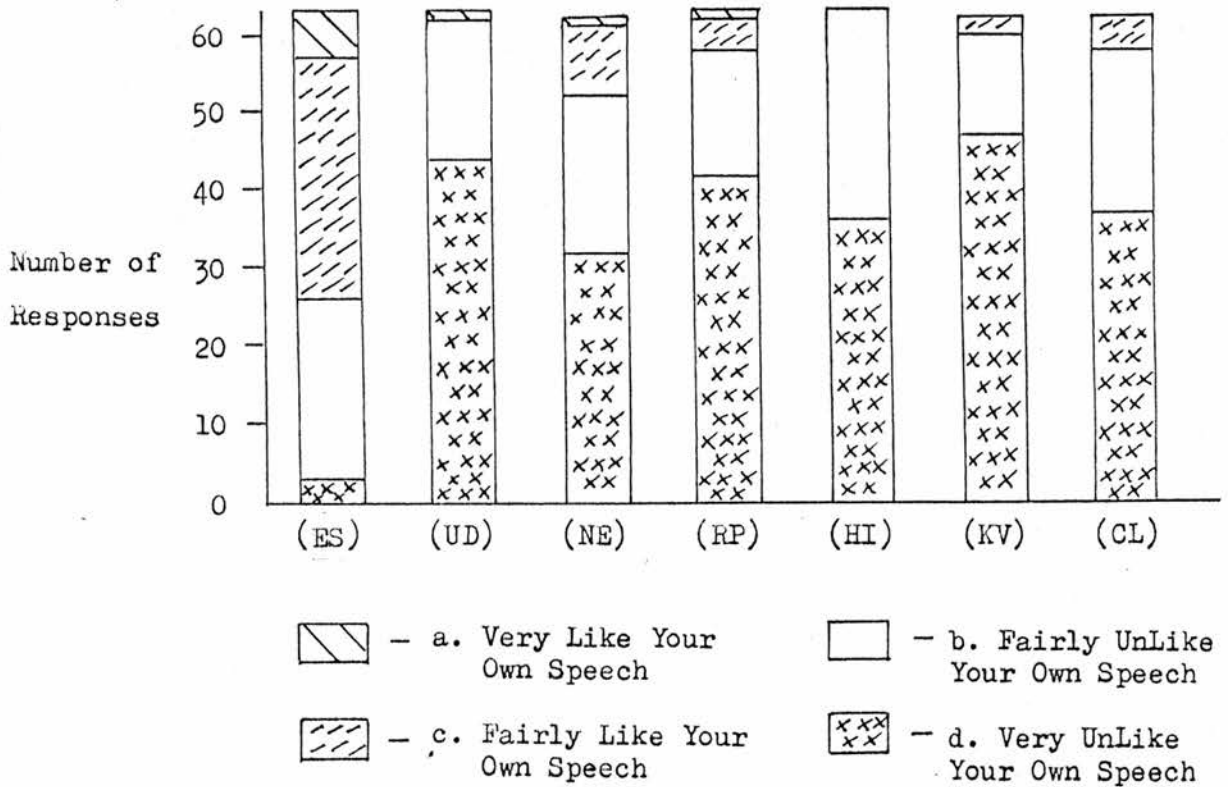
Only in the case of ES did a majority perceive it as being LIKE their own speech: 31 (49.2) rated it as FAIRLY LIKE and 6 (9.5) as VERY LIKE. A sizeable minority still thought it was FAIRLY UNLIKE but with only 3 (4.8) perceiving it as VERY UNLIKE. Thus, ES was quite clearly rated very differently in comparison with the other accents, over half of the teachers, 58.7%, having felt able to identify with it in some measure.

There may have been different reasons why teachers did not identify with most of the accents which go beyond impressions of similarity to their own accent and which have

Table 8.5 Variable A(v) - "Like Your Own Speech"

		(ES)	(UD)	(NE)	(RP)	(HI)	(KV)	(CL)
V. Like	n	6	1	1	1	0	0	0
Your Own								
Speech	%	9.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
F. Like	n	31	0	9	4	0	2	4
Your Own								
Speech	%	49.2	0.0	14.3	6.3	0.0	3.2	6.4
F. Unlike	n	23	18	20	16	27	13	21
Your Own								
Speech	%	36.5	28.6	31.7	25.4	42.9	20.6	33.3
V. Unlike	n	3	44	32	41	36	47	37
Your Own								
Speech	%	4.8	69.8	50.8	65.1	57.1	74.6	58.7
No	n	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Return								
	%	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.6

Figure 8.5



to do with other aspects of how accents are perceived. Where an accent is disfavoured an UNLIKE response would also be a means of disassociation from it. More straightforwardly, accents may be perceived as very distinctive, regionally or socially, and therefore alien or exotic in terms of the speech community with which a teacher identifies.

It might be wondered if the fact that the voice was female influenced the responses in any way, i.e. did more females than males identify with it?

Table 8.5a

Rating of ES on A(v) LIKE YOUR OWN SPEECH according to the sex of the informant:

		VERY LIKE	FAIRLY LIKE	FAIRLY UNLIKE	VERY UNLIKE	
male	n	3	15	8	3	29
	%	10.3	51.7	27.6	10.3	100
female	n	3	16	15	0	34
	%	8.8	47.6	23.5	0.0	100

The above table shows the responses to ES with respect to variable A(v) broken down for sex of informant. In terms of numbers who rated ES as VERY and FAIRLY LIKE there is virtually no difference. When considered in percentage terms, since there was not an equal number of males and females in the sample, while the proportion of males who rated the accent in these terms is slightly greater than the proportion of females the difference is probably not great enough to be considered significant. It should be noted that no female informant considered the accent to have been VERY UNLIKE, while a small number of males, 3 (10.3) did so, and also a slightly greater proportion of males indicated that it was FAIRLY UNLIKE. However,

overall it does not seem that the sex of the speaker caused any marked differences in response according to the sex of the respondent.

The aim of this section of the text was to obtain perceptions of the accents in terms of a small number of basic descriptive parameters, two relating to provenance (SCOTTISH and ENGLISH), one norm related (CORRECT), one aesthetic (PLEASANT), one concerned with identification of the respondents with the accents (LIKE YOUR OWN SPEECH) on a discriminating scale.

ES and NE were the accents most teachers favoured on the given descriptions. ES was more favoured on the norm-related factor, NE on the aesthetic one. RP was also well favoured on CORRECT but rather less well on PLEASANT. KV was rated less favourably than RP in terms of CORRECT and least well of all the accents on PLEASANT. UD was slightly more favoured than KV on PLEASANT but less well than CL, where there was no real agreement among the teachers. ES was the only accent with which a substantial number of informants identified as being LIKE THEIR OWN SPEECH in any degree.

The extent to which an accent is perceived as SCOTTISH or ENGLISH does not seem to have any marked bearing on other results. ES was perceived to a lesser extent as SCOTTISH than KV and to a slightly greater extent as ENGLISH but ES was much more favoured. NE, HI, UD and CL were perceived to very similar extents as SCOTTISH and UNENGLISH but elicited different responses overall on other variables.

HI was quite well favoured in terms of CORRECT and PLEASANT though less well than NE.

CHAPTER 9 : ATTITUDE TEST (3) :

THE RESULTS, IB(i) - ACCENT

Variable B(i).1 - RURAL/URBAN Table 9.1, Figure 9.1

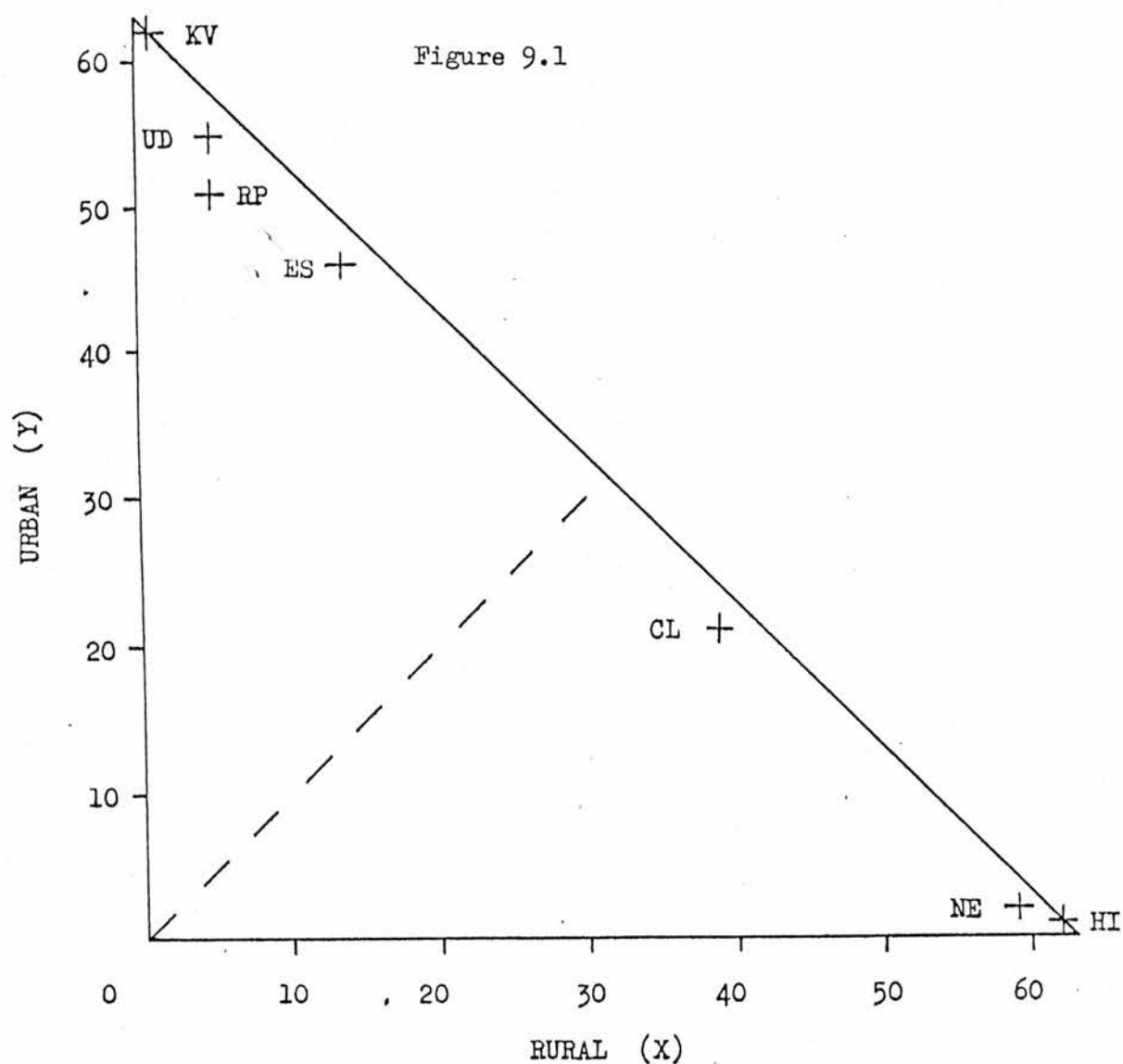
It will be convenient at this stage to outline the method of analysis adopted for this kind of binary variable in some detail, illustrating it with the results for this variable, since statistical techniques are involved.

The first three columns in Table 9.1 give the numbers of informants rating each accent X (x) or Y (y), in this case RURAL or URBAN, and also the number of cases where no observation was recorded, the NO RETURNS, (\emptyset). The fourth column expresses x, the numbers rating X, RURAL, as a percentage ratio of the observations recorded, $(x + y)$ or n, i.e. $x.100/x + y$ or $x.100/n$. The fifth column expresses x as a percentage ratio of 63 (N), being the total number in the sample, and the last column \emptyset as a percentage of 63. The corresponding ratios for y in each case are readily calculable from these figures.

The results shown in the table are also presented in a graph, Figure 9.1 in this case, in which the result for X is plotted against that for Y for each accent/speaker. Both axes comprise a scale 0 to 63. x (read along the x-axis) and y (read along the y-axis) provide the co-ordinates for plotting each accent/speaker onto the graph, represented by + with the appropriate identifying label, ES, UD etc. Where all 63 informants rated a voice either X or Y then the point (x,y) will fall on what is in effect the hypotenuse of a right-angled isosceles triangle, with

Table 9.1 Variable B(i).1 - Rural/Urban

	X Rural	Y Urban	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	14	46	3	23.3	22.2	4.8
(UD)	5	55	3	8.3	7.9	4.8
(NE)	59	2	2	96.7	93.6	3.2
(RP)	5	51	7	8.9	7.9	11.1
(HI)	62	1	0	98.4	98.4	0.0
(KV)	1	62	0	1.6	1.6	0.0
(CL)	39	21	3	65.0	61.9	4.8



the graph's axes forming the equal sides. Where this is not the case because of missing observations, the NO RETURNS, then the point (x,y) will fall within the triangle. However, in such cases the number of NO RETURNS is represented on the graph, being the distance of a line projected parallel to either axis from (x,y) to the hypotenuse. Thus, the graph provides a convenient tri-dimensional representation of the data.

Any necessary further explanations will be given as they arise in the course of the analysis of the variables.

Turning to the results presented in Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1, it can be seen that all but one of the teachers rated KV as URBAN, and all but one HI as RURAL. UD was perceived as URBAN by 55 (87.3) of the teachers as were RP and ES by considerable majorities, 51 (81.0) and 46 (73.0) respectively. 14 (22.2) rated ES as RURAL, notably more than rated KV, UD, RP as so. NE was judged by the vast majority, 59 (93.6) as RURAL, only 2 (3.2) perceiving it as URBAN. The least clear result was that for CL, a third, 21 (33.3) having seen it as URBAN, 39 (61.9) having having rated it as RURAL, suggesting that this accent was least identifiable across the group in terms of the variable than the other accents.

In analysing data elicited through this kind of test it is useful and customary to make use of statistical methods as an objective means of testing hypotheses suggested by the data and the test itself. However, as was mentioned above (p. 136) the sample of informants was probably not random and therefore the results and the conclusions

drawn are strictly only applicable to this particular group of informants. Also, other factors in the administration ought ideally to have been more strictly controlled to ensure full independence of results and to eliminate the possibility of learning effect. But it should be pointed out that the circumstances of administration were less than ideal although the test was strictly controlled as far as possible. The use of statistics here does enable an objective analysis of the data to be made and also provides a reference point for comparison in the event of any replication.

The next stage of the analysis, then, is to look at the results in terms of statistical tests. The tests were applied to resolve two problems: (i) whether each accent/speaker was rated by significantly more/less as X than Y; (ii) whether each accent/speaker was rated significantly more/less X than Y than each other accent/speaker. Since the data consisted of frequency counts, chi-square was used to provide an objective decision on these matters, or, where it would have proved inaccurate, Fisher's Exact Test (2 tail)¹.

In determining whether an accent/speaker was rated by significantly more/less X than Y, the null hypothesis is tested i.e. $H_0: x = y$. Using the 'goodness-of-fit' test the expected values were calculated as $x + y/2$ (i.e. those which would be consistent with the hypothesis). If $x = y$ then a point (x,y) on the graph would fall on the (broken) line from the origin to the mid-point of the hypotenuse which divides the graph into two sectors, the

upper ($y > x$) and the lower ($x > y$). The hypothesis was rejected at or beyond the 5% level of significance. A significant result entails rejecting the null hypothesis, $x = y$. In such a case the conclusion must be drawn that $x \neq y$, that is the accent/speaker was rated by significantly more/less informants as X than Y. In terms of the attitude test such a result will be regarded as "decisive". If the result yielded is not significant the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, but must be accepted, i.e. any real numerical difference observed between x and y is not sufficiently great to allow it to be said that the accent/speaker was rated by significantly more/less informants as X than Y. In terms of the attitude test such a result will be regarded as "indecisive". On the graph an "indecisive" result will be likely to fall on or near to the divider, but the test offers an objective means of determining which data points might be decisive results, as opposed to guessing.

We determine whether each accent/speaker was rated by more/less as X and Y than each other accent/speaker with a comparison of the rating of each one with every other on each of the variables. Again, the null hypothesis is tested, which in this case is:

$$H_{0,2}: (x_1, y_1) = (x_2, y_2)$$

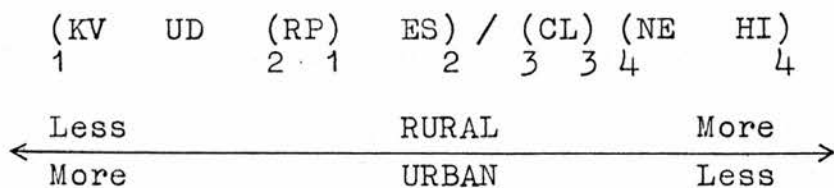
where x_1 and y_1 are the numbers rating accent/speaker (1) X and Y respectively, and x_2 and y_2 the numbers rating accent/speaker (2).

If the result of any comparison is significant the null hypothesis must be rejected, in which case it will be

concluded that $(x_1, y_1) \neq (x_2, y_2)$ and therefore that the two accent/speakers represented in the data-points were rated (and so perceived) significantly differently by the respondents, i.e. the one being perceived by more/less as X/Y than the other. If the result is not significant then the null hypothesis cannot be rejected and must be accepted, i.e. it can be assumed that any observed differences in the overall rating of the two accent/speakers were not significant. It should be noted that it will not have been proven that $(x_1, y_1) \neq (x_2, y_2)$; grounds will only have been determined that the opposite is not the case. Such a determination is not, of course, absolute but probable.

The results of the statistical tests for all variables are given in Appendix .

The tests reveal a set of relationships or associations between accents/speakers. These are presented in the form as given here for RURAL/URBAN:



The accents have been placed in linear order with respect to the ratio $x.100/n$ (column 4 of the table) for each accent/speaker, and the relationships elicited from the statistical tests for $H_{0,2}$ shown by means of numbered sets of brackets. Two or more accent/speakers enclosed in a set of brackets with the same number indicates that the accent/speakers were not perceived as significantly

different from each other, e.g.

$$\dots \left(\begin{array}{cc} \text{NE} & \text{HI} \\ 4 & 4 \end{array} \right)$$

indicating that this was the case when NE and HI were compared for RURAL/URBAN, each having been perceived by more as RURAL and by fewer as URBAN than each of the other accent/speakers. Symbols enclosed by separate sets of brackets indicate that the accent/speakers were perceived significantly differently from each other, e.g.:

$$\dots (\text{CL}) \left(\begin{array}{cc} \text{NE} & \text{HI} \\ 3 & 4 \end{array} \right)$$

indicating that CL when compared with each of the other two accent/speakers, NE and HI, was found to have been rated significantly differently from them, by fewer as RURAL and by more as URBAN or conversely NE and HI were each perceived by more as RURAL and by fewer as URBAN than CL. The nature and direction of the difference is shown by the divergent arrows below the bracketed string.

Intersecting sets of brackets mark an overlap, e.g.:

$$\left(\begin{array}{cc} \text{KV} & \text{UD} \\ 1 & 1 \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{cc} \text{RP} & \text{ES} \\ 2 & 2 \end{array} \right) \dots$$

where RP was not rated significantly differently from ES or from KV and UD, but ES was rated significantly differently from both UD and KV.

Interpreting more fully the entire string, what may be stated is that KV, UD and RP were not perceived differently across the group of respondents with respect to RURAL/URBAN; nor were NE and HI. ES was perceived by significantly fewer as URBAN and by more as RURAL than KV and UD.

CL was judged by significantly more as RURAL and by fewer as URBAN than each of KV, UD, RP and ES, but by fewer as RURAL and by more as URBAN than NE and HI.

Both NE and HI were judged by significantly fewer as URBAN and by more as RURAL than each of the other accents.

The slash, /, indicates the position of the divider on the graph, i.e. in the case of those accent/speakers to to the left of it, more rated them as URBAN than RURAL ($x < y$), while those to the right were rated by more as RURAL than URBAN ($x > y$).

Summarising the results for RURAL/URBAN, there was little or no doubt about the responses of the teachers to KV, UD, RP, NE and HI. The least clearly perceived accent was CL and it is possible that it was not readily identifiable in terms of its salient indexical features to be marked overwhelmingly as RURAL or URBAN, although the majority rating it as the former was decisive, as was the case with all the accents here.

The high RURAL rating for NE and HI would suggest presumably that the respondents were able to locate NE and HI broadly geographically. This also seems to have been the case with UD and KV, confirming their association with an urban setting. None of these results contradicts probable expectations about how these accents might have been perceived.

The response to ES, which represents the speech of many middle-class Scots, is interesting in view of the significantly higher number who perceived it as RURAL compared with KV and UD. It would seem to have been sli-

ghtly less obviously identifiable in terms of this feature than KV and UD. It may simply be that this accent is quite widely encountered and therefore it might be expected that some informants would rate it as RURAL, although it was predominantly perceived as URBAN.

In view of its association with the Scottish laird class it might have been expected that RP would be rated as RURAL, and a small number did so, but the overall perception was as URBAN. Is it that for most people in Scotland, teachers included, this accent is heard in the main on radio and television, emanating particularly from London, so that its associations are metropolitan rather than "country-seat"? This would fit in also with its perception as UNSCOTTISH and ENGLISH by and large.

Table 9.1b

	RURAL	URBAN
SCOTTISH/ UNENGLISH	NE, HI, CL	UD, KV, ES
ENGLISH/ UNSCOTTISH		RP

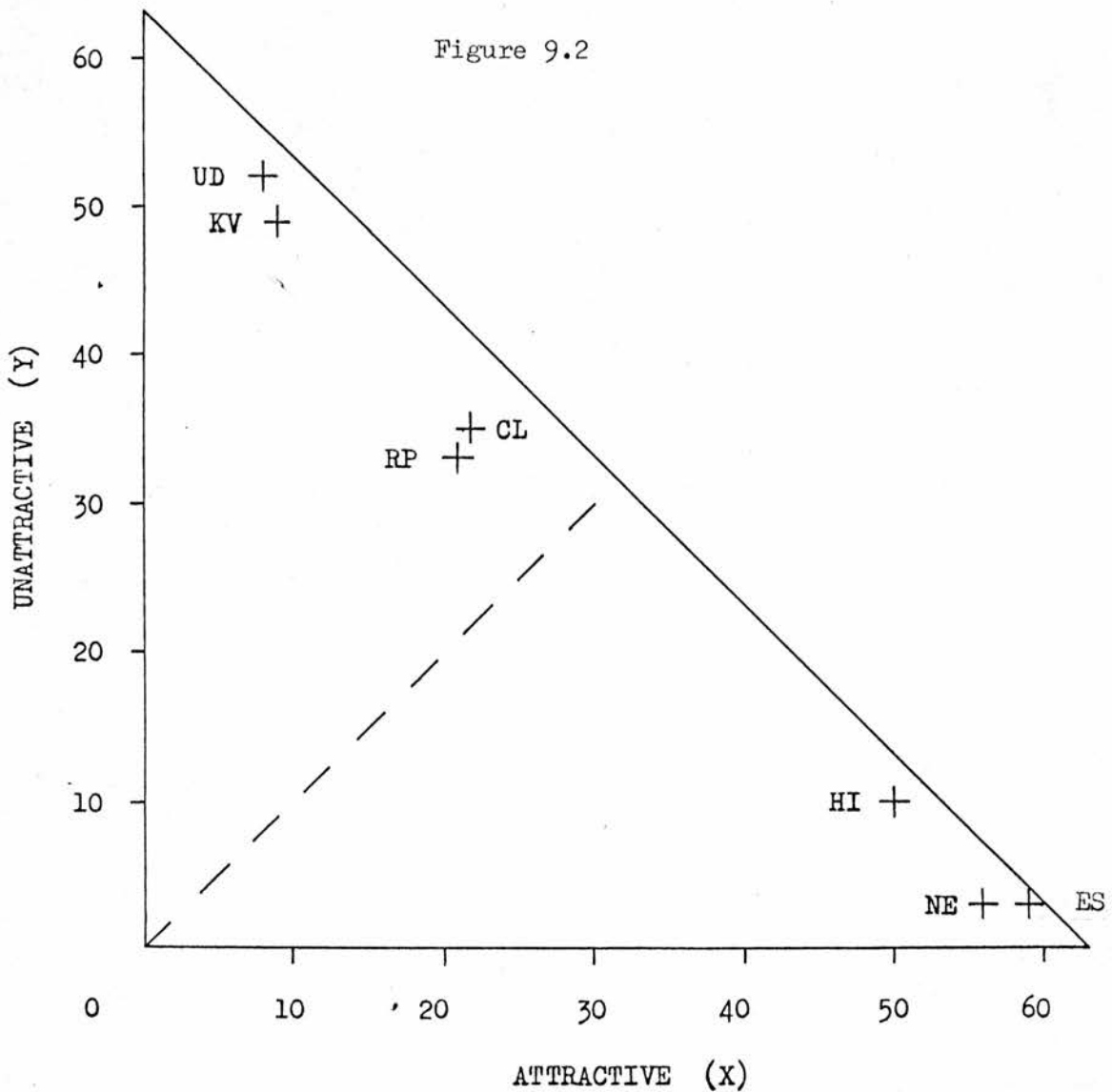
Table 9.1b summarises the broad provenance of the accents as indicated by the informants in the results for variables A(i) SCOTTISH, A(ii) ENGLISH and B(i).1 RURAL/URBAN.

Variable B(i).2 - ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE Table 9.2,
Figure 9.2

The supposed "aesthetic" merits or defects of a language, dialect or accent are generally ignored in serious linguistic description as having no value or interest. However, "folk" linguistics happily makes use of such

Table 9.2 Variable B(i).2 - Attractive/Unattractive

	X Attr- active	Y Unattr- active	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	59	3	1	95.2	93.6	1.6
(UD)	8	52	3	13.3	12.7	4.8
(NE)	56	3	4	94.4	88.8	6.4
(RP)	21	33	9	38.8	33.3	14.3
(HI)	50	10	3	83.3	79.4	4.7
(KV)	9	49	5	15.5	14.3	7.9
(CL)	22	35	6	38.6	34.9	9.5

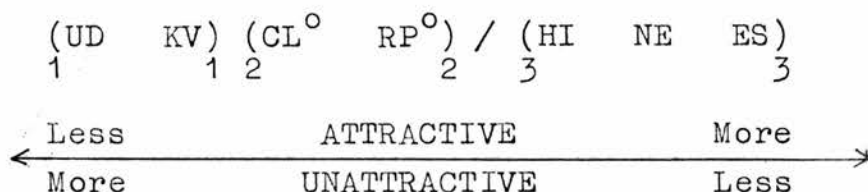


criteria in describing language varieties, and therefore there is offered a useful dimension for eliciting a "positive" or negative attitude towards linguistic material. ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE is one example in the present test. Only three accents were considered by a majority of the teachers to be attractive, ES by 59 (93.6), NE by 56 (88.8) and HI by 50 (79.4). Only 3 (4.8) in both instances judged ES and NE to be UNATTRACTIVE, while HI was rated so by rather more, 10 (15.9).

In marked contrast UD and KV were both perceived as UNATTRACTIVE by most of the informants, UD by 52 (85.5) and KV by 49 (77.8), with only 8 (12.7) having rated UD and 9 (14.3) KV as ATTRACTIVE.

The results for RP and CL show considerable division among the teachers, the former having been judged by 21 (33.3) as ATTRACTIVE and by 33 (52.4) as UNATTRACTIVE, the latter very similarly by 22 (34.9) as ATTRACTIVE and by 35 (55.6) as UNATTRACTIVE. Also, 9 (14.3) gave NO RETURNS for RP, slightly more than for the other accents.

The statistical tests for ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE reveal the following relationships:



The superscript 'o' on CL and RP indicates a non-significant result on each accent when $H_{0,1}$ was tested, i.e. an "indecisive" result, so that, it cannot be said that there was any agreement about the perception of these accents

among the respondents with respect to the variable. If it were possible to project this result onto any other similar group, it would be expected that CL and RP would be just as likely to be regarded as ATTRACTIVE as UNATTRACTIVE.

The series of tests for $H_{0,2}$ confirm the clear patterning revealed in the graph. The accents in relation to each other are shown to be in three distinct groupings or associations: UD and KV were not perceived differently overall as UNATTRACTIVE; nor were HI, NE and ES perceived differently as ATTRACTIVE; RP and CL also cannot be distinguished.

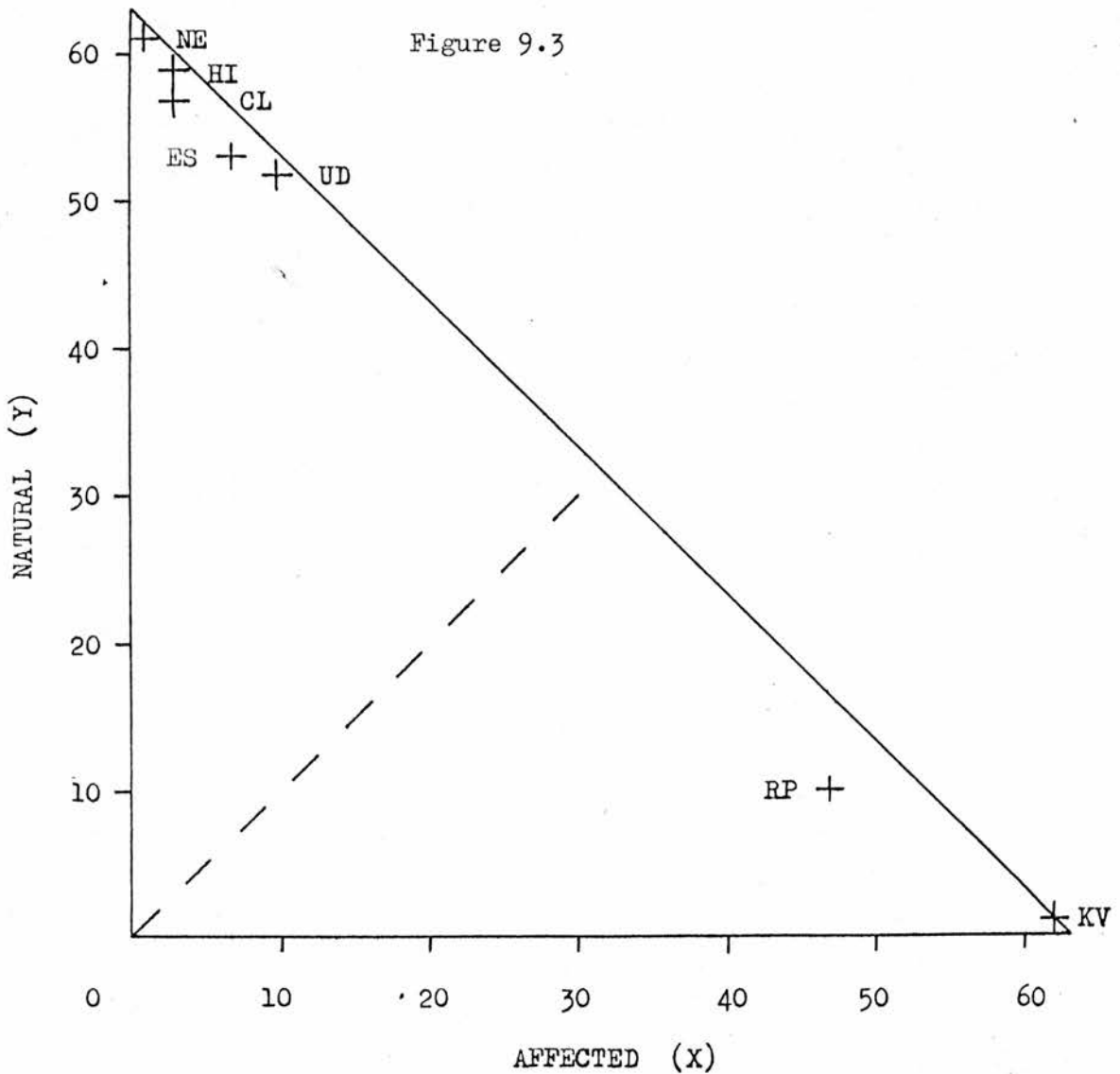
Thus, the two accents which were perceived by most as RURAL, NE and HI, were also perceived by most as ATTRACTIVE, but they are associated here with ES despite the fact that it was rated in the main as URBAN. UD and KV, having been adjudged both overwhelmingly as URBAN were again associated with each other as clearly UNATTRACTIVE. The fact that RP was not rated decisively as ATTRACTIVE is surprising in view of its supposed prestige. The notion that accents with rural connotations tend to be perceived positively in aesthetic terms while those with urban associations are perceived negatively (see e.g. Trudgill, 1975 : 36) is borne out only partially here. Other factors would seem to be involved also.

Variable B(i).3 - AFFECTED/NATURAL Table 9.3, Figure 9.3.

This variable asks, in effect, whether each accent might be considered to have been altered consciously in the direction of a more prestigious realisation (AFFECTED), or not (NATURAL).

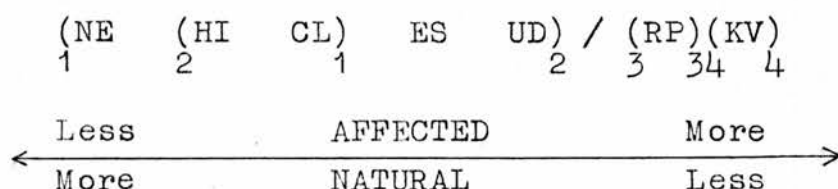
Table 9.3 Variable B(i).3 - Affected/Natural

	X Affected	Y Natural	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	7	53	3	11.7	11.1	4.8
(UD)	10	52	1	16.1	15.9	1.6
(NE)	1	61	1	1.6	1.6	1.6
(RP)	47	10	6	82.5	74.6	9.5
(HI)	3	59	1	4.8	4.8	1.6
(KV)	62	1	0	98.4	98.4	0.0
(CL)	3	57	3	5.0	4.8	4.8



It can be seen that all but two accents, RP and KV, were perceived overall as NATURAL, by over 80% of the informants in each case. NE was rated as NATURAL by 61 (96.8), HI by 59 (93.6), CL by 57 (90.4), ES by 53 (84.1) and UD by 52 (82.5). The greatest numbers rating any of these as AFFECTED were 10 (15.9) for UD and 7 (11.1) for ES.

KV was judged by only one respondent to be NATURAL and by all the remainder, 62 (98.4), to be AFFECTED, while RP was also rated overall by a large majority as AFFECTED, 47 (74.6), although 10 (15.9) did perceive it as NATURAL.



All the majorities were decisive. When each accent is compared with each other, three groupings are revealed, two of which overlap. NE was not perceived significantly differently from HI and CL, but both ES and UD would seem to have been judged by slightly fewer as NATURAL than NE, and by slightly more as AFFECTED. No significant differences were revealed between HI, CL, ES and UD when each was compared with each other. However, both RP and KV were each rated significantly differently from each of the other accents, and when compared with one another there was a significant difference so that RP was perceived by fewer as AFFECTED and by more as NATURAL than KV in statistical terms not only numerically.

Most of the accents were perceived as NATURAL overall

then. KV is associated with aspirant middle-class Scots and is widely held to be an unsuccessful attempt to emulate RP, the latter being the accent which, it is believed, those who wish to adapt their speech to the social élite in Britain seek to acquire. It is held to be indicative of desired, if not attained, upward social movement. Such a characterisation in the minds of the informants would have generated the obtained result. Similarly, the high status of RP which is also indicated in this test (see Section B(ii), particularly questions 7 - 11), and the fact that it is not the accent of the vast majority of people but is associated with a social élite may explain why it was perceived as AFFECTED, although it is, of course, the 'natural' accent of some people, and this seems to have been recognised by some respondents.

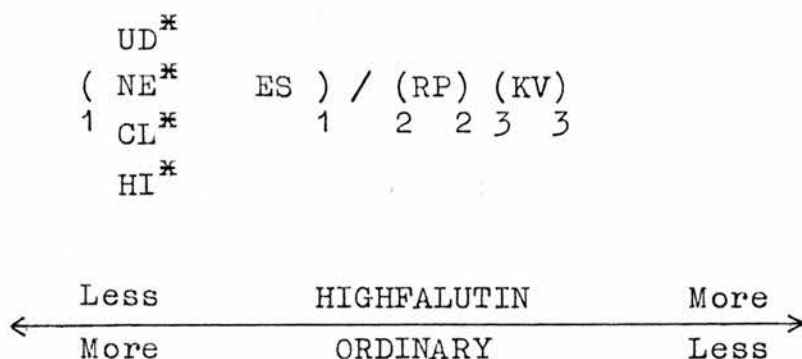
10 teachers rated UD as AFFECTED. It may be noted that there is a possibility of ambiguity in this term. Some respondents may have interpreted it non-stylistically, so that this accent was considered to have been "put on", i.e. was not perceived as a genuine or 'natural' example of Glasgow urban demotic speech (which was the case). The accent may have been perceived by a few informants not in a general sense but in terms of the particular example presented. It would seem to indicate that the UD guise could perhaps have been better, if this analysis of the responses is valid. On the whole the results for this variable do not conflict with what might have been broadly expected and would seem to suggest that the other accents, some of which were also "put on", were generally accepted

as genuine, even allowing for possible misinterpretation of the variable.

Variable B(i).4 - HIGHFALUTIN/ORDINARY Table 9.4,
Figure 9.4

This is concerned with whether an accent can be regarded as having a high social status or not. This descriptive variable may be interpreted as differing from the last one, AFFECTED/NATURAL, in that in the case of the latter there is an implied intent on the part of the speaker, while in that of the former what is being described is something about the speech which is inherent. The two variables are, however, semantically adjacent, if not overlapping.

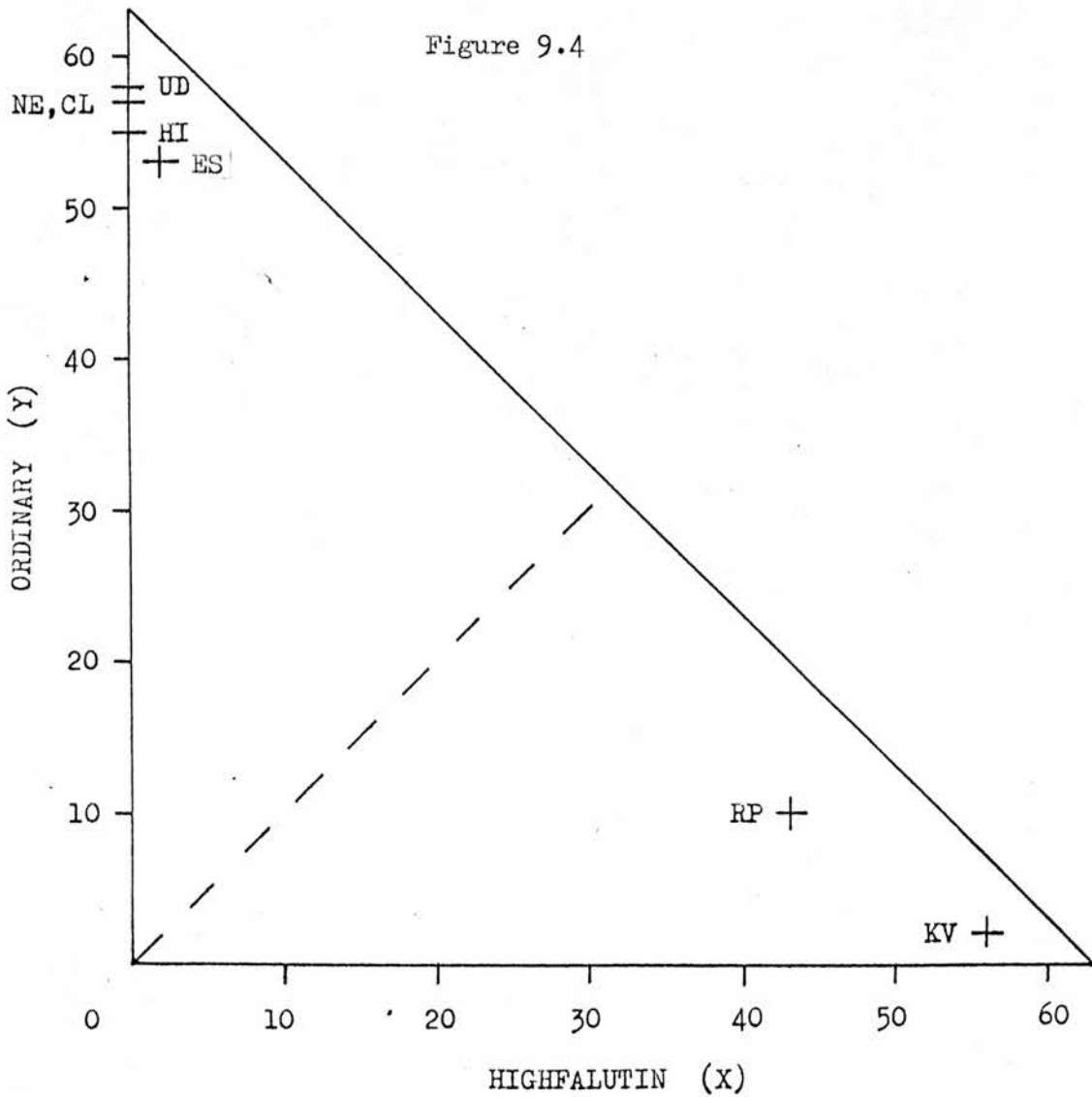
The pattern on the graph is very similar to that obtained for AFFECTED/NATURAL. RP and KV were clearly perceived by the vast majority in each case as HIGHFALUTIN, by 43 (68.2) and 56 (88.9) respectively. The other accents were rated overall as ORDINARY, UD by 58 (92.1), NE and CL both by 57 (90.5), HI by 55 (87.3) and ES by 53 (84.1). None judged UD, NE, CL or HI to be HIGHFALUTIN, and only 2 (3.2) thought that ES was so.



Because $x/n \cdot 100 = 100$ in each case, UD, NE, CL and

Table 9.4 Variable B(i).4 - Highfalutin/Ordinary

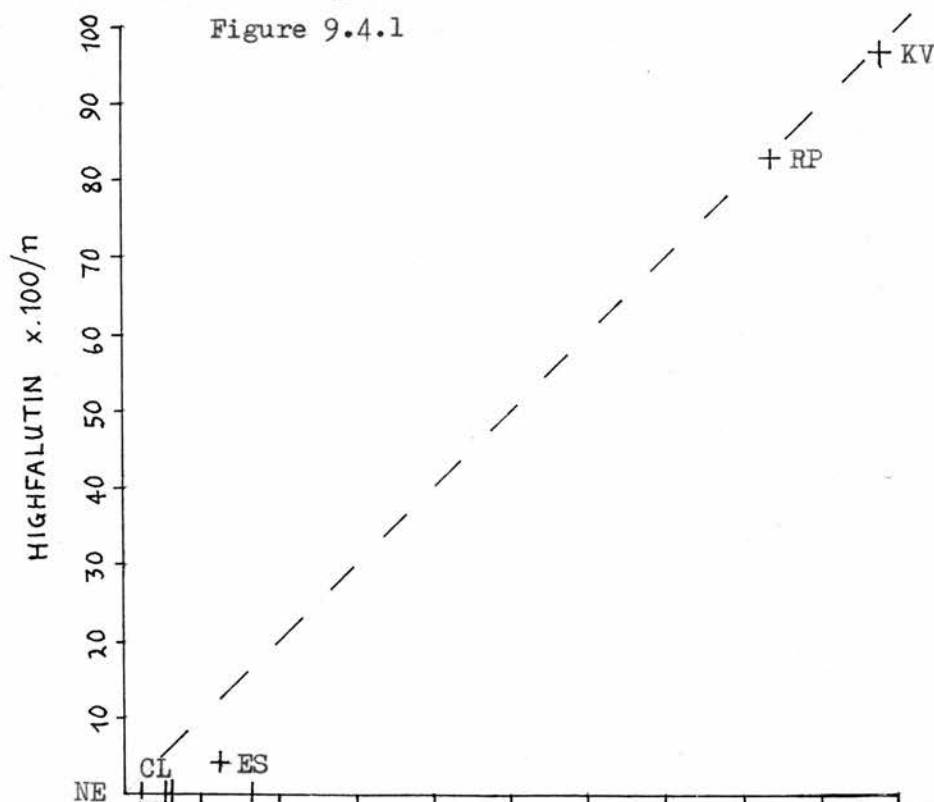
	X High- falutin	Y Ordinary	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	2	53	8	3.6	3.2	12.7
(UD)	0	58	5	0.0	0.0	7.9
(NE)	0	57	6	0.0	0.0	9.5
(RP)	43	10	10	81.1	68.2	15.9
(HI)	0	55	8	0.0	0.0	12.7
(KV)	56	2	5	96.6	88.9	7.9
(CL)	0	57	6	0.0	0.0	9.5



HI necessarily occupy the same position in the string.

* indicates that it was not possible to compute a probability in comparing these accents with each other so marked because a marginal value of 0 occurred in the contingency tables. However, the differences in rating these accents are very small and it would not be hazarding much in these instances to propose that these accents were not perceived differently in any significant way. ES was not rated significantly differently any of these accents, although it was from RP and KV as might be expected on the numerical differences. RP was rated by significantly fewer as HIGHFALUTIN and by more as ORDINARY than KV, reinforcing the parallel with the results for the preceding variable.

The distribution of the plots on the graph suggests a fairly strong correlation between this variable and AFFECTED/NATURAL. Figure 9.4.1 plots the results for X in each variable (i.e. AFFECTED and HIGHFALUTIN) against each other in terms of the ratios $x/x + y\%$ and this clearly shows that they are very similar in each case.



This might lead to the conclusion that an accent which is perceived as AFFECTED will also tend to be perceived as HIGHFALUTIN, and one that is perceived as NATURAL also as ORDINARY. Given, as was suggested, that the two variables are broadly similar in stylistic terms, this is not perhaps surprising.

The fact that KV was perceived more extensively than RP as HIGHFALUTIN, taken together with the similar result for AFFECTED/NATURAL, is perhaps a function of its 'hyper-correctness'. That is, whatever it is about it that caused it to be perceived as AFFECTED and HIGHFALUTIN is more apparent than in the case of RP; the salient features which characterise the stereotype are stronger than in the case of RP, at least as presented in this test.

Variable B(i).5 - ACCEPTABLE/NOT ACCEPTABLE Table 9.5,
Figure 9.5

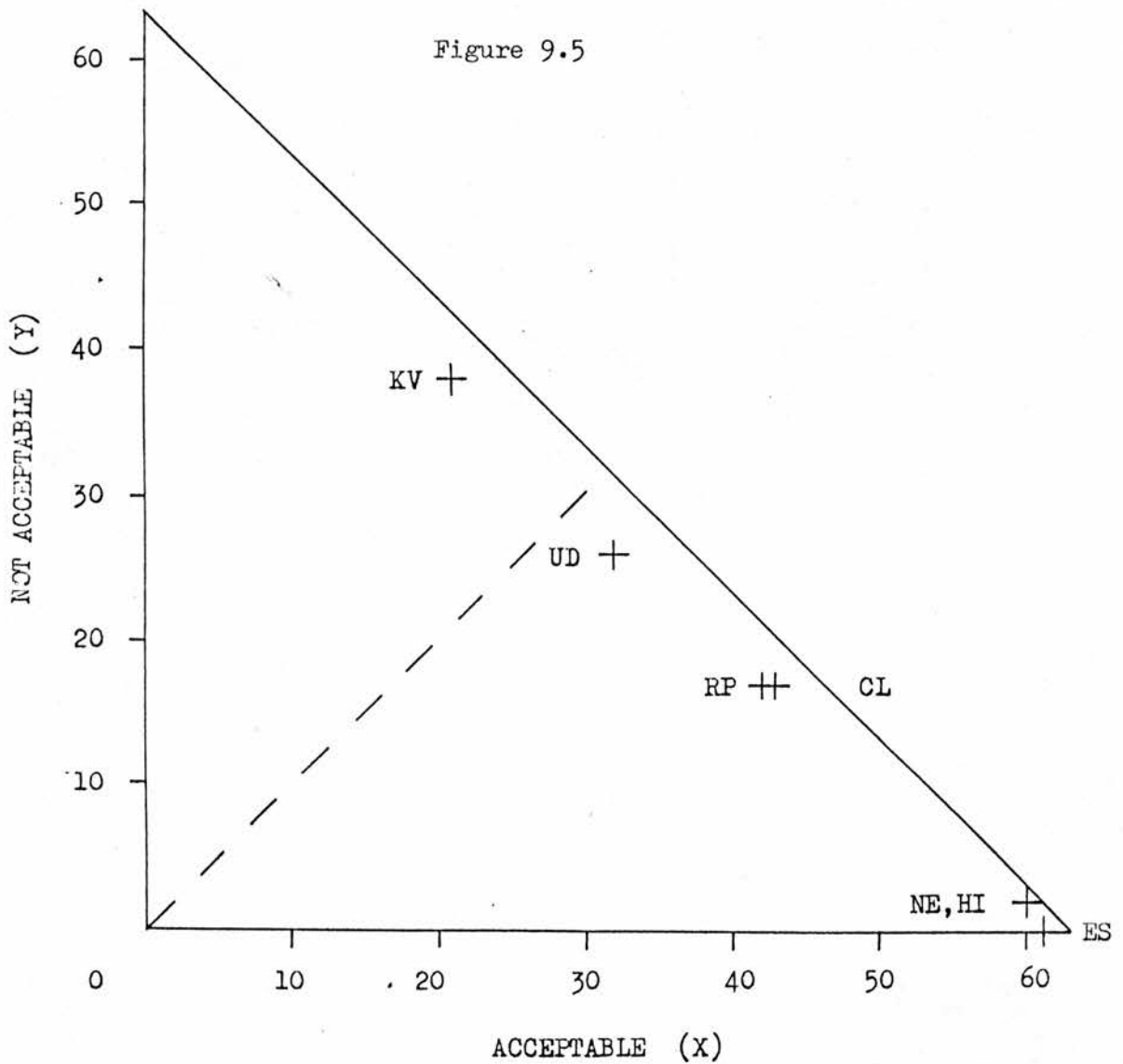
This variable is concerned with the general acceptability to the teachers of the accents.

ES, NE and HI were each deemed to be ACCEPTABLE by over 95% of the teachers, ES by 61 (96.8), NE and HI both by 60 (95.2). No-one found ES to be NOT ACCEPTABLE and only one in each case rated NE and HI so. RP and CL were rated very similarly as ACCEPTABLE overall, RP by 42 (66.7) and CL by 43 (68.2), while each was rated by a minority of 17 (27.0) as NOT ACCEPTABLE.

The informants were most evenly divided in their judgements of UD, 32 (50.8) responding to it as ACCEPTABLE, 26 (41.3) as NOT ACCEPTABLE, so that, although it was

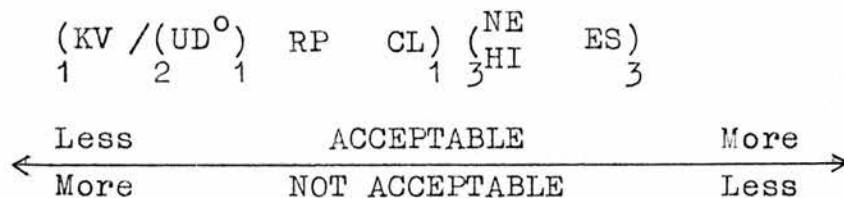
Table 9.5 Variable B(i).5 - Acceptable/Not Acceptable

	X Accep- table	Y Not Acc- ceptable	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	61	0	2	100.0	96.8	3.2
(UD)	32	26	5	55.2	50.8	7.9
(NE)	60	2	1	96.8	95.2	1.2
(RP)	42	17	4	71.2	66.7	6.3
(HI)	60	2	1	96.8	95.2	1.6
(KV)	21	38	4	35.6	33.3	6.4
(CL)	43	17	3	71.7	68.2	4.8



favoured by a majority, the difference was very small.

KV was the only accent to be rated by more as NOT ACCEPTABLE, 38 (40.3), than ACCEPTABLE, 21 (33.3).



In terms of the statistics UD was the only result to emerge as indecisive.

The pattern of results is resolved into three groupings two of which overlap. The first grouping comprises KV, regarded by fewest as ACCEPTABLE and by most as NOT ACCEPTABLE along with the indeterminate UD. UD also falls into the second group with RP and CL, both of which were however perceived by significantly more as ACCEPTABLE and by fewer as NOT ACCEPTABLE than KV. The third group comprises NE, HI and ES each of which was rated by significantly more as ACCEPTABLE and by fewer as NOT ACCEPTABLE than each of the other accents.

NE, HI and ES are again clustered together having been perceived favourably by almost all the informants. On numerical grounds KV was rated less favourably than UD, though in terms of the statistical test the difference did not turn out here to be significant, but it is an indication that KV was not very favoured at all. UD might have been expected to have been perceived much less favourably overall than it was, perhaps more so than KV, while RP might have been expected to have found a higher number rating it as ACCEPTABLE. Were some informants perhaps

reacting against RP in a deliberate way? From these results it would seem that UD may be more generally ACCEPTABLE and RP less so than their stereotypes might lead one to suppose.

Variable B(ii).6 - CULTIVATED/COARSE Table 9.6, Figure 9.6.

What is immediately observable from the results for this variable, which may be thought of as another "aesthetic" type description, is the high number of NO RETURNS, particularly for CL, HI and NE. 23 (36.5) did not provide observations for CL, 26 (41.3) for HI and 33 (52.4), just over half, for NE. For these informants it must be assumed that neither of the terms in the given variable were felt to have been applicable to these accents.

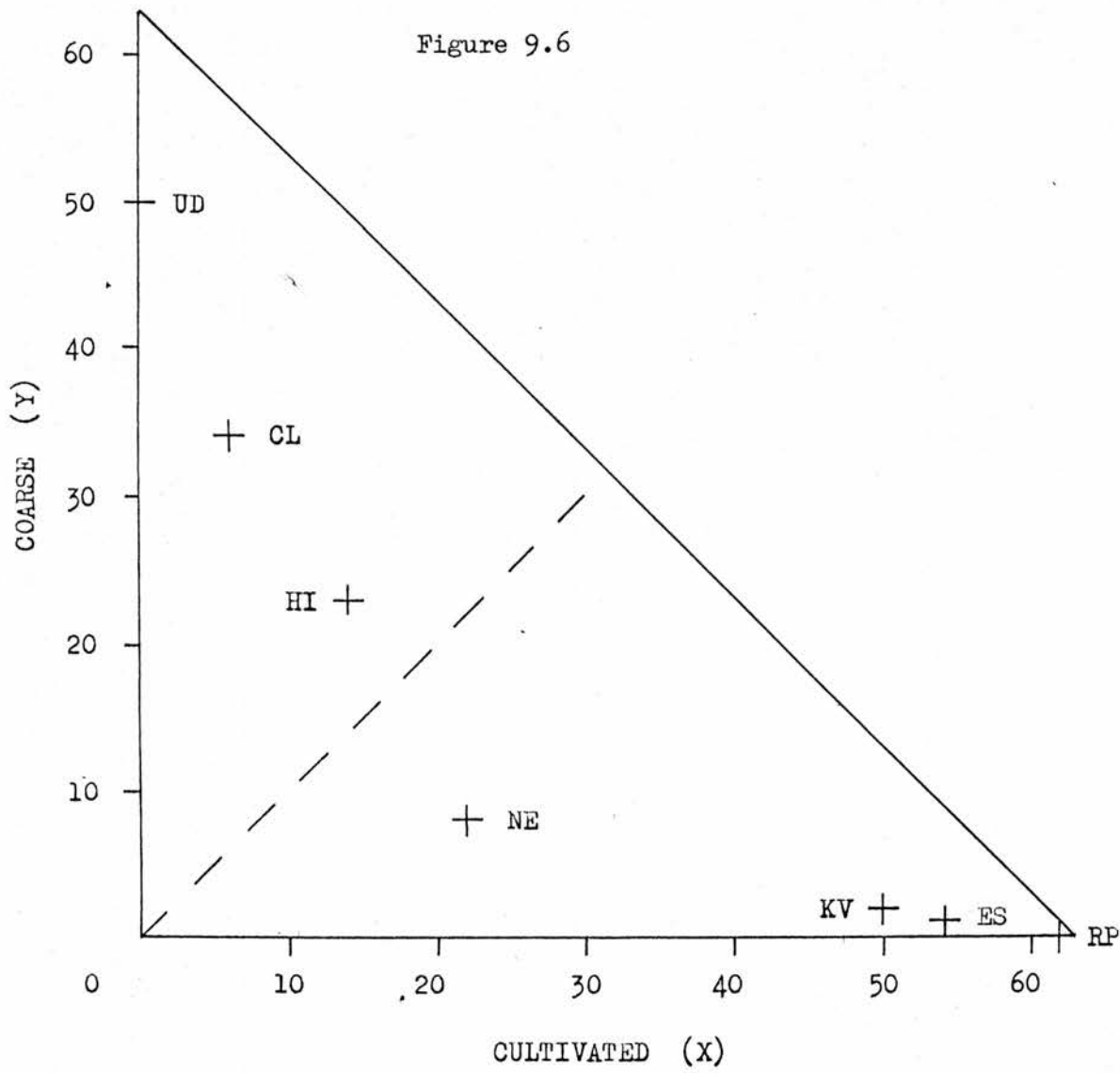
This problem clearly did not arise in the case of RP which was judged by 62 (98.4) to be CULTIVATED. ES and KV were also overwhelmingly perceived as CULTIVATED, the former by 54 (85.7), the latter by 50 (79.4).

UD, on the other hand, was quite clearly rated as COARSE, although 13 (20.6) gave no observation. None thought that it was CULTIVATED.

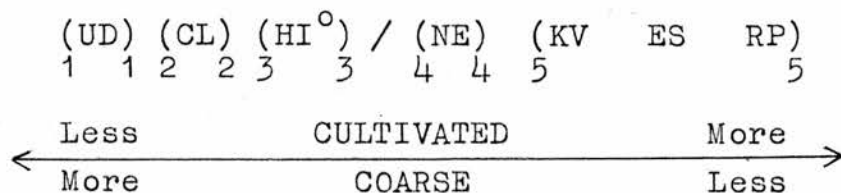
Of those who did respond to CL, HI and NE, 34 (54.0) rated CL as COARSE as against only 6 (9.5) who saw it as CULTIVATED, while HI was perceived by a small majority as COARSE 23 (36.5) as opposed to 14 (22.2) who saw it as CULTIVATED, and NE which was actively responded to by the smallest number of informants, 30, was judged by 22 (34.9) as CULTIVATED with only 8 (12.7) marking it as COARSE.

Table 9.6 Variable B(i).6 - Cultivated/Coarse

	X Culti- vated	Y Coarse	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	54	1	8	98.2	85.7	12.7
(UD)	0	50	13	0.0	0.0	20.6
(NE)	22	8	33	73.3	34.9	52.4
(RP)	62	0	1	100.0	98.4	1.6
(HI)	14	23	26	37.8	22.2	41.3
(KV)	50	2	11	96.2	79.4	17.4
(CL)	6	34	23	15.0	9.5	36.5



Only the result for HI was shown to be indecisive.



When compared with one another, UD, CL, HI and NE are each revealed as having been perceived significantly differently from each other: CL was perceived by significantly fewer as COARSE and by more as CULTIVATED than UD, with HI standing in the same relationship both to UD and to CL, and NE similarly to all three. KV, ES and RP are not revealed as significantly different from each other in these terms, but each was perceived by significantly more as CULTIVATED and by fewer as COARSE than each of the other accents.

So far the numbers of NO RETURNS have been relatively small and have been omitted from the analysis. Informants were explicitly told that they could opt out on any variable where they did not feel able to make a valid response to an accent/speaker in the terms offered, so that the possibility of NO RETURNS was built in to the test. Given the limited choice, to compel a response under the "rules" might have resulted in spurious responses. In any case, that a given descriptive parameter is not considered applicable by a large number of respondents to some of the accents is itself interesting and informative. It may be concluded that CL, HI and NE were perceived as neutral with respect to CULTIVATED/COARSE by these teachers, while UD, KV, ES, RP were able to be acceptably characterised in such terms.

Of those who felt able to make an active response a majority clearly favoured NE, while CL was not favoured, with no real agreement emerging in the case of HI.

The response to UD is not surprising, although even here a fifth of the respondents abstained. That to RP is also what might have been expected, conforming like UD, to stereotype but ES and KV were also perceived to the same extent among the teachers as CULTIVATED so that RP did not stand alone.

Variable B(i).7 - EDUCATED/UNEDUCATED Table 9.7, Figure 9.7

The aim of the variable was simply to determine whether the teachers perceived any of the accents as being associated with education in some general sense.

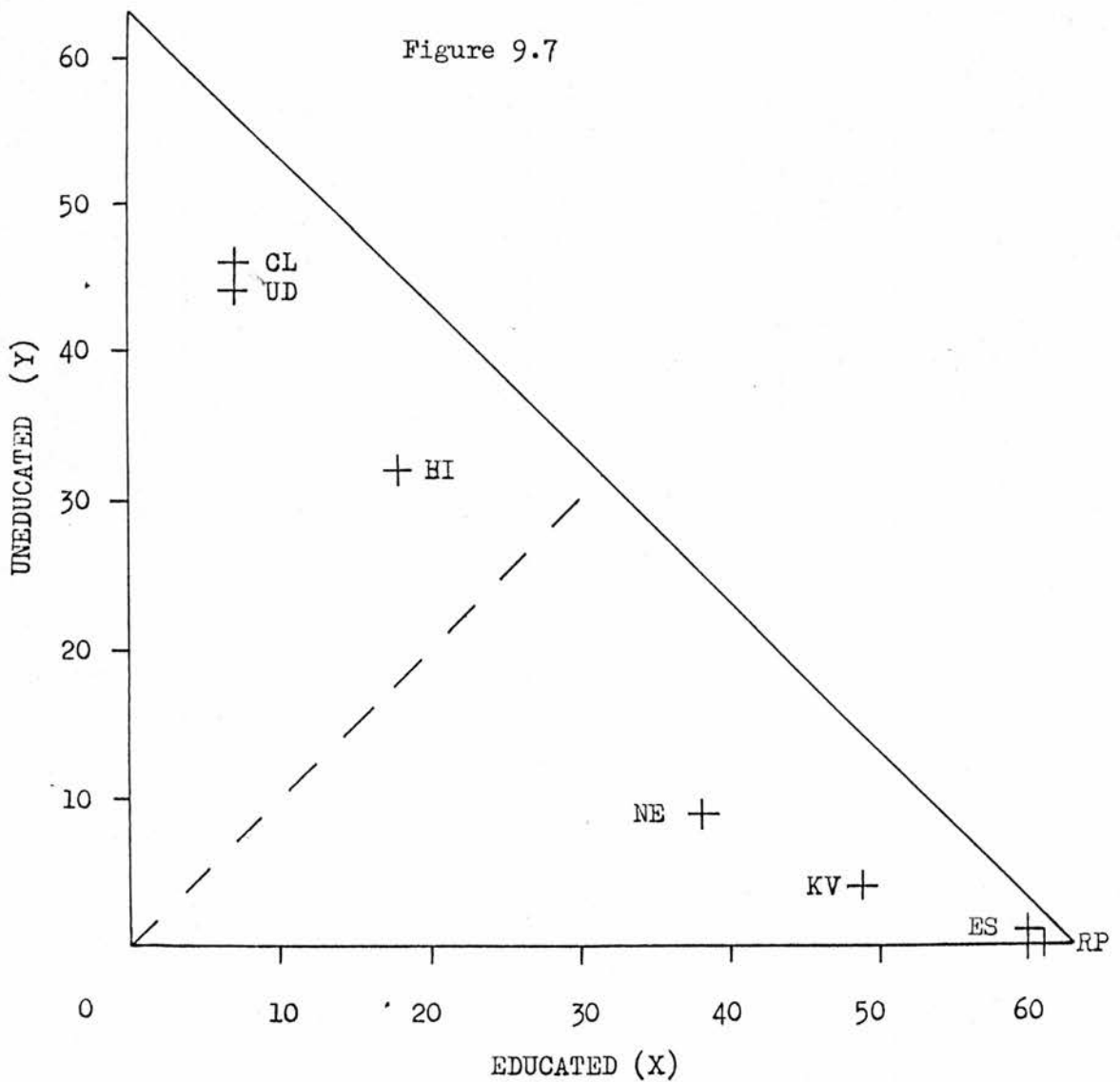
The accents which were judged by almost all the teachers to be EDUCATED are RP, by 61 (96.8) and ES, by 60 (95.2), as can be seen from Table 9.7 and Figure 9.7. None rated RP as UNEDUCATED and only one perceived ES to be so.

KV and NE were both deemed overall to be EDUCATED also, the former by 49 (77.8), the latter by 38 (60.3). Only 4 (6.3) thought that KV was UNEDUCATED, and slightly more, 9 (14.3), NE so. A quarter of the respondents, 16 (25.4), provided no observation for NE.

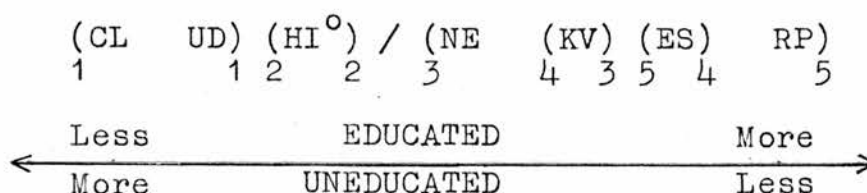
The other accents were perceived overall as UNEDUCATED. Half, 32 (50.8), rated HI as UNEDUCATED as against 18 (28.6) who saw it as EDUCATED, with 13 (20.6) offering no response. Of all the accents CL and UD were rated by most as UNEDUCATED and by fewest as EDUCATED. They were also rated very similarly overall: UD was judged by 44 (69.8) and CL by 46 (73.0) as UNEDUCATED, while both were perceived as EDU-

Table 9.7 Variable B(i).7 - Educated/Uneducated

	X Educ- ated	Y Unedu- cated	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	60	1	2	98.4	95.2	3.2
(UD)	7	44	12	13.7	11.1	19.1
(NE)	38	9	16	80.9	60.3	25.4
(RP)	61	0	2	100.0	96.8	3.2
(HI)	18	32	13	36.0	28.6	20.6
(KV)	49	4	10	92.5	77.8	15.9
(CL)	7	46	10	13.2	11.1	15.9



CATED by only 7 (11.1).



As with the last variable only the result for HI was indecisive.

Unsurprisingly, CL and UD were not rated significantly differently. HI is distinct from each of the other accents including both CL and UD. Of the accents rated overall as EDUCATED, each of which was perceived significantly differently from the others, these are resolved into three overlapping sets. ES was perceived by significantly more as EDUCATED and by fewer as UNEDUCATED than NE, but is not separable from KV in terms of the responses, nor from RP, which was, however, regarded by significantly more as EDUCATED and by fewer as UNEDUCATED than KV and, indeed, than NE.

While there were fewer abstentions here, the pattern of response is not dis-similar to that obtained on the previous variable. One difference is that CL was less favoured in terms of EDUCATED/UNEDUCATED than it was on CULTIVATED/COARSE, being associated here with UD which, again, was negatively perceived overall. ES and RP were favoured again, clearly associated here, as was KV, though KV emerges here slightly less favourably than RP.

The informants seem to have felt rather more sure about the status of NE here, a good majority rating it favourably, although a quarter of the sample recorded no

observation, suggesting inability to place it in terms of the variable. Once more, the teachers were agreed least over HI.

Variable B(i).8 - MONOTONOUS/TUNEFUL Table 9.8, Figure 9.8

This may be thought of as an aesthetic judgement.

NE, ES and HI were clearly perceived by the vast majority of teachers as TUNEFUL, NE by 57 (90.5), ES by 56 (88.9) and HI by 50 (79.4). Of these HI was perceived by the largest number as MONOTONOUS, 9 (14.3).

The respondents were exactly divided over UD, 27 (42.9) judging it to be MONOTONOUS and the same as TUNEFUL. CL also shows some division, 34 (54.0) perceiving it to be MONOTONOUS, 23 (36.5) as TUNEFUL.

KV and RP were judged fairly similarly overall as MONOTONOUS, 32 (50.8) perceiving KV so and 36 (57.1) RP so, while both were rated by 17 (27.0) as TUNEFUL, although these accents were not rated to the same extent as MONOTONOUS as NE, ES and HI were rated as TUNEFUL.

The data-point for UD fits the hypothesis $H_{0,1} : x = y$ exactly and is, of course, indecisive. CL also yields an insignificant result and must therefore be considered indecisive. The results for each of the other accents are decisive.

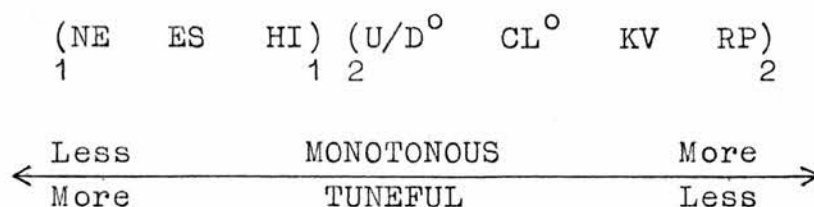
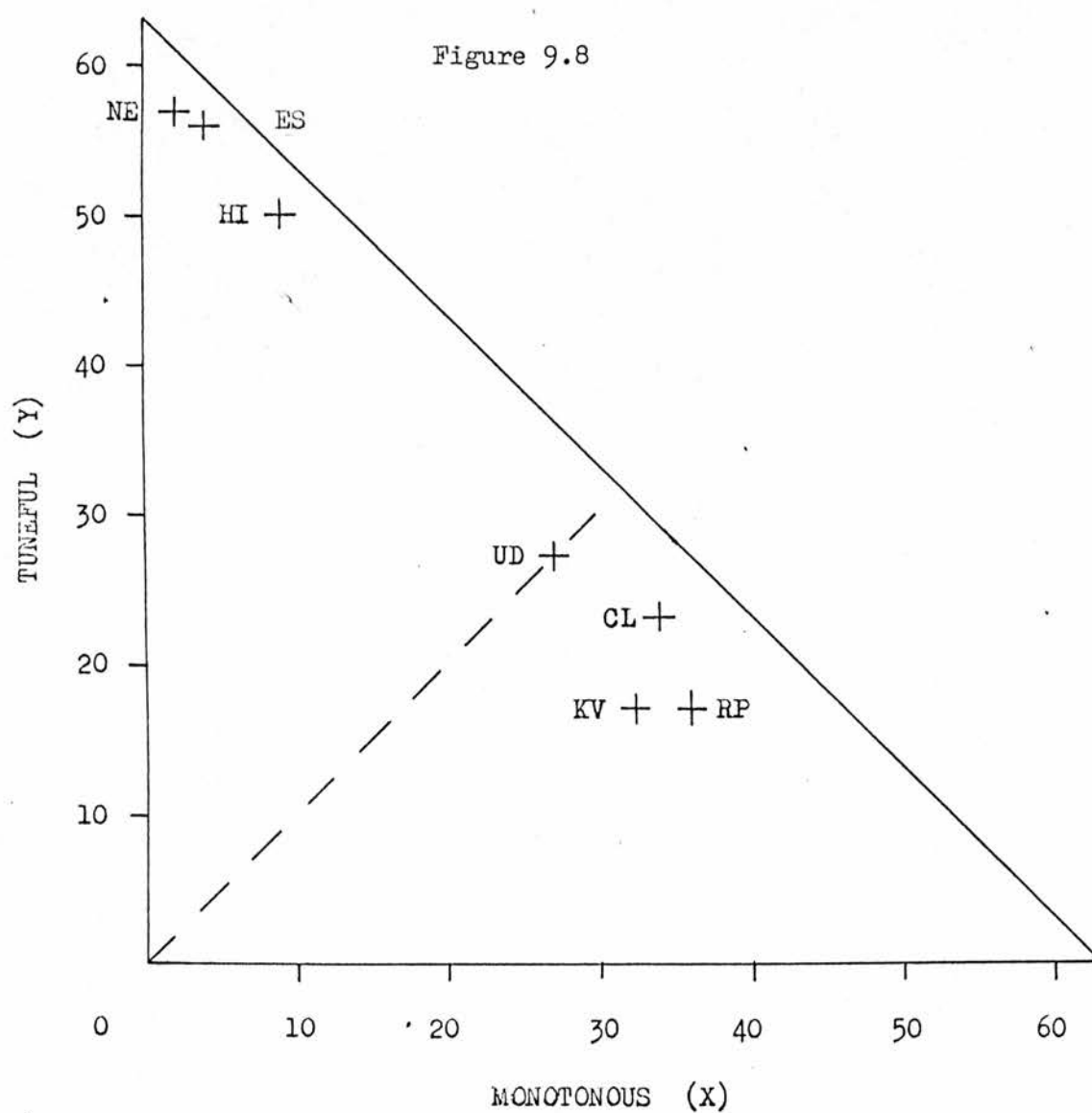


Table 9.8 Variable B(i).8 - Monotonous/Tuneful

	X Mono- tonous	Y Tune- ful	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{0\%}{63}$
(ES)	4	56	3	6.7	6.3	4.8
(UD)	27	27	9	50.0	42.9	14.2
(NE)	2	57	4	3.4	3.2	6.3
(RP)	36	17	10	67.9	57.1	15.9
(HI)	9	50	4	15.3	14.3	6.3
(KV)	32	17	14	65.3	50.8	22.2
(CL)	34	23	6	59.6	54.0	9.5



The statistical tests comparing each accent with each other resolve the accents into two distinct sets of associations which can, in fact, be observed in part on the graph, one set comprising those accents rated by substantial majorities as TUNEFUL, NE, ES and HI, and the other containing those indeterminately rated, UD and CL, and those rated by a decisive majority as MONOTONOUS, KV and RP, i.e. those cases where there was no agreement among the informants or where there was agreement that the accents were MONOTONOUS but, on the basis of the figures, not extensive agreement.

There is here a return to the pattern of a highly favourable association of ES, NE and HI across the group, also found on ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE and ACCEPTABLE/NOT ACCEPTABLE particularly, the accents here having been perceived by considerably more as TUNEFUL and by fewer as MONOTONOUS than each of the others. What is clear also is that UD, CL, KV and RP were not generally favoured, if not greatly disfavoured. The responses to these on the variable were by and large indeterminate with no clear stereotyping emerging.

The fact that KV and RP were both "decisively" rated yet were also shown not to have been rated significantly differently from UD and CL, both rated "indecisively", perhaps requires clarification. There is, in fact, no paradox. It should be remembered that there are two quite separate hypotheses being tested based on different data points and therefore the hypotheses should be kept distinct.

Variable B(i).9 - SLOVENLY/CAREFUL Table 9.9, Figure 9.9

This is concerned, broadly, with judgements about articulation. Some realisations, for example, a glottalised rendering of voiceless stops, are held to be features of "slovenly" or careless speech:

"Slovenly articulation produces an indistinct form of speech, very often a defective form of speech."

(McAllister, 1951 : 43)

Table 9.9 and Figure 9.9 show how the teachers rated the accents presumably in terms of this view. All the teachers, 63 (100), regarded ES as CAREFUL, while 58 (92.1) rated RP as CAREFUL. None perceived either of these accents as SLOVENLY. KV and NE were both judged to be CAREFUL also by large majorities, 53 (84.1) and 52 (82.5) respectively. Only a negligible proportion perceived KV and NE to be SLOVENLY: 1 (1.6) in the case of KV, 2 (3.2) in that of NE.

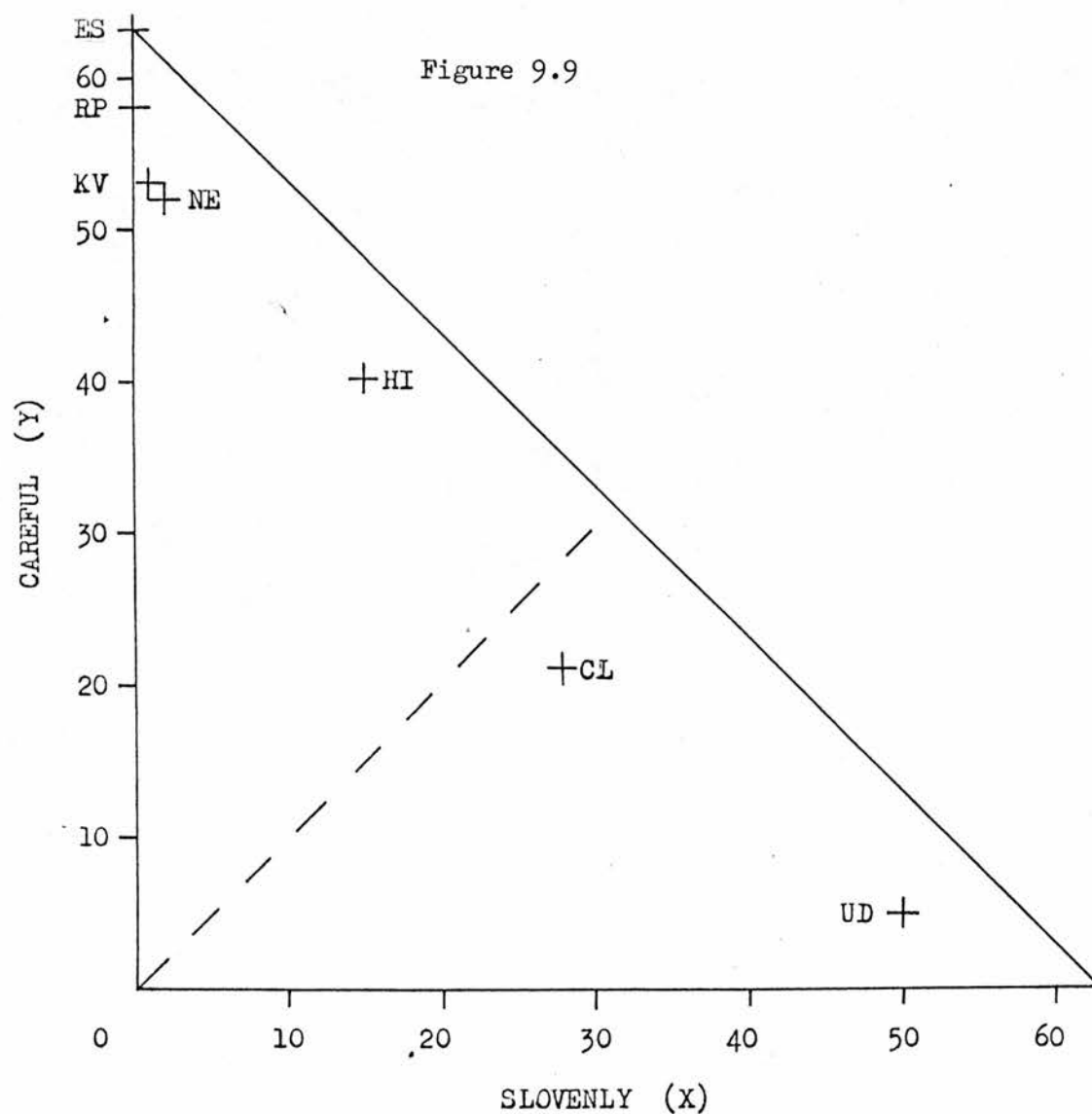
HI, while regarded by 40 (63.5) as CAREFUL, was also rated by a sizeable minority of 15 (23.8) as SLOVENLY.

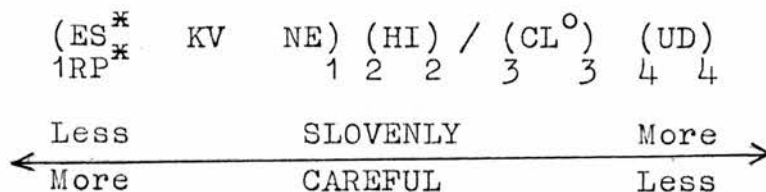
Slightly more rated CL as SLOVENLY, 21 (33.3) as against CAREFUL, 28 (44.5), indicating a fairly even division among the informants. Also, 14 (22.2) provided no observation for this accent, noticeably higher than for the other accents, further suggesting uncertainty about the status of CL with respect to the variable.

The response to UD is quite unequivocal. A large majority, 50 (79.4) perceived UD as SLOVENLY. Only 5 (7.9) thought that it was CAREFUL.

Table 9.9 Variable B(i).9 - Slovenly/Careful

	X Slovenly	Y Careful	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	0	63	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
(UD)	50	5	8	90.9	79.4	12.7
(NE)	2	52	9	3.7	3.2	14.3
(RP)	0	58	5	0.0	0.0	7.9
(HI)	15	40	8	27.3	23.8	12.7
(KV)	1	53	9	1.9	1.6	14.3
(CL)	28	21	14	57.1	44.5	22.2





Only the result for CL was shown to be "indecisive".

ES and RP could not be tested against each other here, but given the obvious closeness of the results it is reasonable to assume that they were not responded to significantly differently. At least we have no grounds for rejecting this hypothesis.

The accents fall into four groups, discernable in the pattern of the plots in the graph, Figure 9.9. Neither ES or RP was shown to have been rated significantly differently from KV or NE. Nor were KV or NE rated differently from each other. Each of the other three accents, HI, CL and UD, were shown to have been perceived overall significantly differently from each other and also from each of those accents in the last group.

HI, then, was perceived by significantly fewer to be CAREFUL and by more to be SLOVENLY than ES, RP, KV or NE. Thus, while HI was perceived favourably, it was to a demonstrably lesser extent than ES, RP, KV or NE. UD was perceived by significantly more to be SLOVENLY and by fewer to be CAREFUL than CL. The response to UD seems to have been the traditional one.

It is worth noting that HI exhibited glottalisation as did UD and we may wonder whether this feature caused some informants to rate HI as SLOVENLY.

Variable B(i).10 - COULD BE IMPROVED/COULD NOT BE IMPROVED

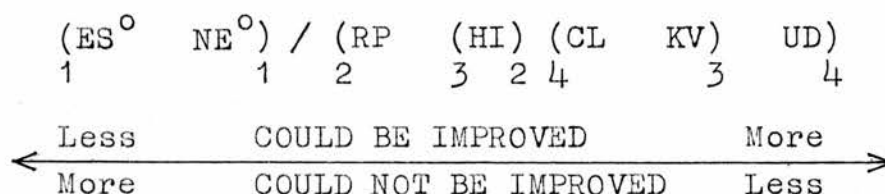
Table 9.10, Figure 9.10

The teachers thought that only two accents COULD NOT BE IMPROVED overall, ES and NE. However, although ES was rated COULD NOT BE IMPROVED by 35 (55.6), 20 (31.7) thought it COULD BE IMPROVED. Similarly, 31 (55.6) thought that NE COULD NOT BE IMPROVED and a sizeable minority, 20 (31.7) again, believed it COULD BE IMPROVED. The teachers showed some disagreement about these accents.

The teachers perceived all the other accents by varying majorities as COULD BE IMPROVED overall. 36 (57.1) thought RP COULD BE IMPROVED, 19 (30.2) it COULD NOT BE. Slightly more perceived HI as COULD BE IMPROVED, 39 (62.0), slightly fewer as COULD NOT BE IMPROVED, 12 (19.0).

CL and KV were rated very similarly. Equal numbers of 6 (9.5) rated them as COULD NOT BE IMPROVED, while 51 (81.0) believed KV COULD BE IMPROVED and 49 (77.8) thought CL COULD BE IMPROVED.

UD was the accent most thought COULD BE IMPROVED. 56 (88.9) believed it COULD BE, only one thought it COULD NOT BE.

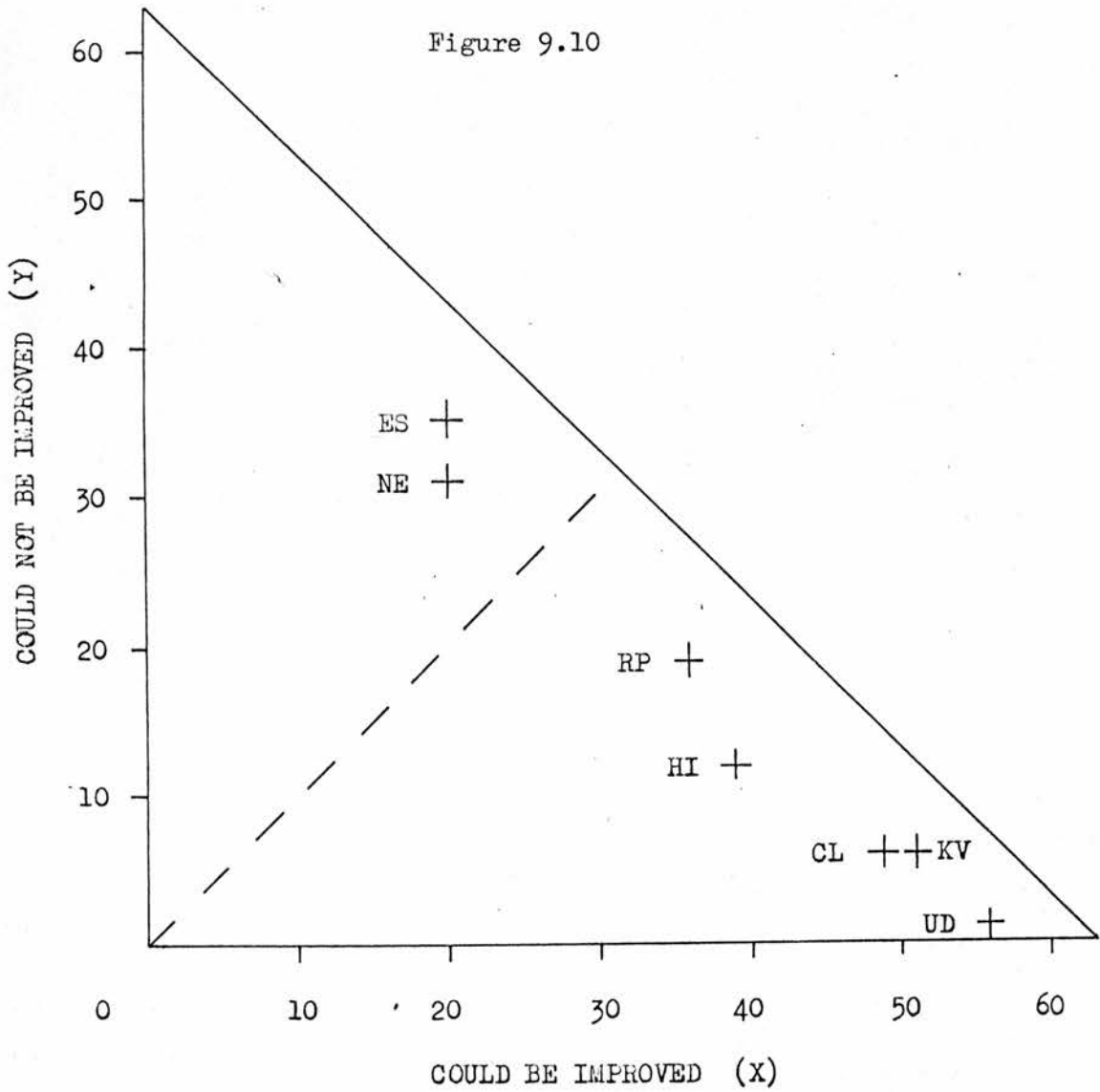


ES and NE are revealed to have been rated "indecisively".

The accents are resolved into four groups, three of which intersect. ES and NE were not responded to significantly differently from each other. Each was rated by

Table 9.10 Variable B(i).10 - Could Be/Could Not Be Improved

	X Could Be Improved	Y C'd Not Be Imp.	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	20	35	8	36.4	31.7	12.7
(UD)	56	1	6	98.2	88.9	9.5
(NE)	20	31	12	39.2	31.8	19.0
(RP)	36	19	8	65.5	57.1	12.7
(HI)	39	12	12	76.5	62.0	19.0
(KV)	51	6	6	89.5	81.0	9.5
(CL)	49	6	8	89.1	77.8	12.7



more as COULD BE IMPROVED and by fewer as COULD NOT BE IMPROVED than each of the other accents. RP was not perceived significantly differently from HI, nor was HI perceived significantly differently from CL and KV. However, RP is revealed to have been rated by significantly fewer as COULD BE IMPROVED and by more as COULD NOT BE IMPROVED than CL or KV. HI was rated by significantly fewer also as COULD BE IMPROVED and by more as COULD NOT BE IMPROVED than UD. However, UD was not perceived significantly differently from CL or KV.

The question arises, in what sense are the accents to be "improved"? This is not evident and the term can be interpreted in a number of ways. For example, does "improved" mean "made more correct"? On the basis of the results for A(iii) CORRECT we may doubt this interpretation. RP was judged by 80% to be VERY CORRECT and KV by 84% to be CORRECT in some degree. Even if the accents were capable of being made "more correct" we would expect their relative orderings to be similar on the two variables. Were the accents on the tape being judged as good or bad examples of their imagined stereotypes i.e. is RP improvable as an example of Received Pronunciation etc.? We might conclude that UD was a bad example of Urban Demotic and that ES was an indifferent example of Educated Scots. This is similar to the problem of the 'genuineness' of the accents raised in connection with B(i).3 AFFECTED/NATURAL, particularly the response to UD where a few judged it to be AFFECTED, although the indications were that the accents seem to have been accepted as genuine on the whole. There

is the possibility that each accent could be improved in a different way, i.e. one was not thought to be better or worse than another for the same reason. Thus, some might have thought UD could be improved because it is SLOVENLY or that RP and KV could be more NATURAL. Although, in terms of the test, it is not clear how ES COULD BE IMPROVED.

We have to conclude that this variable as presented was too vague and offered too wide a scope for interpretation by the informants so that the results are not very meaningful. It is a reminder that in this sort of test variables should be as transparent in meaning as possible.

Section B(i) : CONCLUSIONS

These, then are the data obtained and processed from Section B(i) which have been set forth in detail. As a means of arriving at some general conclusions, the accents may now be compared by providing a profile for each one in terms of the characteristics on which it has been rated by overall majorities.

In order to make this more meaningful, the responses will be divided into those which represent a 'group stereotype' and those which do not. By a 'group stereotype' is meant here an overall reaction to an accent (or to a speaker in section B(ii) below) where the vast majority of the entire group of informants have responded to it as either X or Y, i.e. where x greatly exceeds y, or y greatly exceeds x. If the reaction to an accent (or speaker) really constitutes a stereotype in the sense of indicating

a conventionalised, widely held belief we would expect a large measure of agreement in the perception of it as X or Y, with few if any abstentions. A marked divergence in reactions, indicating disagreement among the group of informants and/or a large number of abstentions would not suggest a stereotyped reaction among the group

It is necessary to provide a functional definition in terms of the present data. A group stereotype is defined initially where 80% or more, i.e. between 50 and 63 (inclusive) of the informants rated an accent (or speaker) as X or Y on any variable. 50 or 80% is, of course, an arbitrary figure and this may be thought too rigid and precise a definition. As a means of introducing flexibility into it, those accents which were perceived by fewer than 50 (80%) as X or Y but which were found not to have been rated significantly differently from one which was rated by 50 (80%) or more will be considered as a stereotype also. The stereotypes identified by these means will comprise the primary profiles for each accent. Non-stereotyped responses (i.e. where x or $y < 50$ and the difference is significant will constitute the secondary profile.

Table 9.11a gives the primary profiles for each of the accents, Table 9.11b the secondary profiles.

From Table 9.11a it can be seen that CL elicited the fewest stereotypes, three. Two of these are NATURAL and ORDINARY - (underlining in the main text indicates a stereotype) - which are really neutral characteristics rather than positive ones. Only as * COULD BE IMPROVED was there

Table 9.11a

Primary Profiles (Section B(i)): Stereotyped Responses to Accents

	ES	UD	NE	RP
1.	*URBAN	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN
2.	ATTRACTIVE	UNATTRACTIVE	ATTRACTIVE	--
3.	NATURAL	NATURAL	NATURAL	--
4.	ORDINARY	ORDINARY	ORDINARY	--
5.	ACCEPTABLE	--	ACCEPTABLE	--
6.	CULTIVATED	COARSE	--	CULTIVATED
7.	EDUCATED	--	--	EDUCATED
8.	TUNEFUL	--	TUNEFUL	--
9.	CAREFUL	SLOVENLY	CAREFUL	CAREFUL
10.	--	COULD BE IMPROVED	--	--

	HI	KV	CL
1.	RURAL	URBAN	--
2.	ATTRACTIVE	*UNATTRACTIVE	--
3.	NATURAL	AFFECTED	NATURAL
4.	ORDINARY	HIGHFALUTIN	ORDINARY
5.	ACCEPTABLE	--	--
6.	--	CULTIVATED	--
7.	--	--	--
8.	TUNEFUL	--	--
9.	--	CAREFUL	--
10.	--	COULD BE IMPROVED	*COULD BE IMPROVED

* indicates x or $y < 50$ but stereotype suggested by virtue of non-significant difference in rating compared with an accent where x or $y \geq 50$.

Table 9.11b

Secondary Profiles (Section B(i)): Non-stereotyped Responses to Accents

	ES	UD	NE	RP
1.	--	--	--	--
2.	--	--	--	(UNATTRACTIVE)
3.	--	--	--	AFFECTED
4.	--	--	--	HIGHFALUTIN
5.	--	(ACCEPTABLE)	--	ACCEPTABLE
6.	--	--	CULTIVATED	--
7.	--	UNEDUCATED	EDUCATED	--
8.	--	()	--	MONOTONOUS
9.	--	--	--	--
10.	(COULD NOT BE IMPROVED)	--	(COULD NOT BE IMPROVED)	COULD BE IMPROVED

	HI	KV	CL
1.	--	--	RURAL
2.	--	--	(UNATTRACTIVE)
3.	--	--	--
4.	--	--	--
5.	--	NOT ACCEPTABLE	ACCEPTABLE
6.	(COARSE)	--	COARSE
7.	EDUCATED	EDUCATED	UNEDUCATED
8.	--	MONOTONOUS	(MONOTONOUS)
9.	CAREFUL	--	(SLOVENLY)
10.	COULD BE IMPROVED	--	--

A characteristic in brackets indicates that the majority is indecisive, x is not significantly different from y.

a negative stereotyped reaction across the group to CL. Furthermore, the secondary profile for CL shows indecisive results on three other variables. This suggests that the teachers were not able to characterise this accent very readily. Most of the responses fall into the secondary profile. In this, as well as RURAL, CL was perceived as ACCEPTABLE but also as COARSE and UNEDUCATED. Overall, the teachers did not perceive CL positively.

The other accents, excepting RP, reveal stereotyped responses in terms of six or more characteristics. RP elicited only four, although the secondary profile reveals only one indecisive result.

The accent which elicited most stereotyped reactions is ES, nine out of the ten. ES was perceived positively as ATTRACTIVE, ACCEPTABLE, CULTIVATED, EDUCATED, TUNEFUL, CARFEUL, neutrally as NATURAL and ORDINARY, and also as * URBAN. The only characteristic where the response elicited is not a stereotype is (COULD NOT BE IMPROVED) which is an indecisive result, although ES was the accent disfavoured by fewest on variable B(i).10. ES, then, was the accent the vast majority of the teachers rated favourably and positively on all counts.

NE was also perceived very favourably in terms of stereotypes, differing from ES in having been rated as RURAL and in not having elicited stereotyped reactions as EDUCATED and CULTIVATED.

HI has a very similar primary profile to NE differing only in that a small majority perceived it as (COARSE) albeit indecisively. However, the reaction was generally

favourable. On the secondary profile HI shows overall non-stereotyped responses as EDUCATED and CAREFUL but also as COULD BE IMPROVED.

ES, NE, HI, then, share the characterisations, ATTRACTIVE, ACCEPTABLE and TUNEFUL compared with the other accents at the level of stereotype, with ES distinguished from NE and HI in having been perceived more extensively as EDUCATED and CULTIVATED. This suggests that ES is a more prestigious accent than NE and HI.

RP and KV show some similarity. In their primary profiles both were perceived as URBAN, CULTIVATED and CAREFUL, but they differ in that KV is stereotyped as * UNATTRACTIVE while RP elicited an indecisive response here. Also, KV is stereotyped as AFFECTED, HIGHFALUTIN, COULD BE IMPROVED while RP is non-stereotyped with respect to these characteristics. Both elicited non-stereotyped responses as MONOTONOUS, and KV elicited a response as NOT ACCEPTABLE overall while RP was ACCEPTABLE. Thus, RP and KV elicited a number of negative or unfavourable reactions overall and it is apparent that of the two KV was favoured the least.

RP, given its supposed prestige, might have been expected to have elicited a much more positive response. Only in terms of CULTIVATED and EDUCATED was its prestige recognised. It was not even stereotyped as ACCEPTABLE and it was reckoned that it COULD BE IMPROVED. Clearly, there was a reaction against RP by many of the informants.

UD elicited a generally negative response. While stereotyped as NATURAL and ORDINARY, it also elicited

stereotyped reactions as UNATTRACTIVE, COARSE, SLOVENLY and COULD BE IMPROVED. The secondary profile shows it to have been perceived overall as UNEDUCATED also. Despite its apparent failings half of the informants were prepared to tolerate it as (ACCEPTABLE). There was no overall reaction as to whether it is MONOTONOUS or TUNEFUL. These reactions to UD as, for the most part, what might have been predicted on the basis of the traditional view of this kind of speech.

CHAPTER 10 : ATTITUDE TEST (4) :

THE RESULTS, IB(ii) - SPEAKER

Section B(ii) was concerned with how the teachers would respond to the voices on the tape as "speakers", the users of the accents. The analysis of this section follows the pattern of the previous one. To distinguish "speaker" from "accent" and to indicate that the former is being referred to the label is given marked with a single apostrophe, e.g. ES'

Variable B(ii).1 - LIKEABLE/UNLIKEABLE Table 10.1,
Figure 10.1

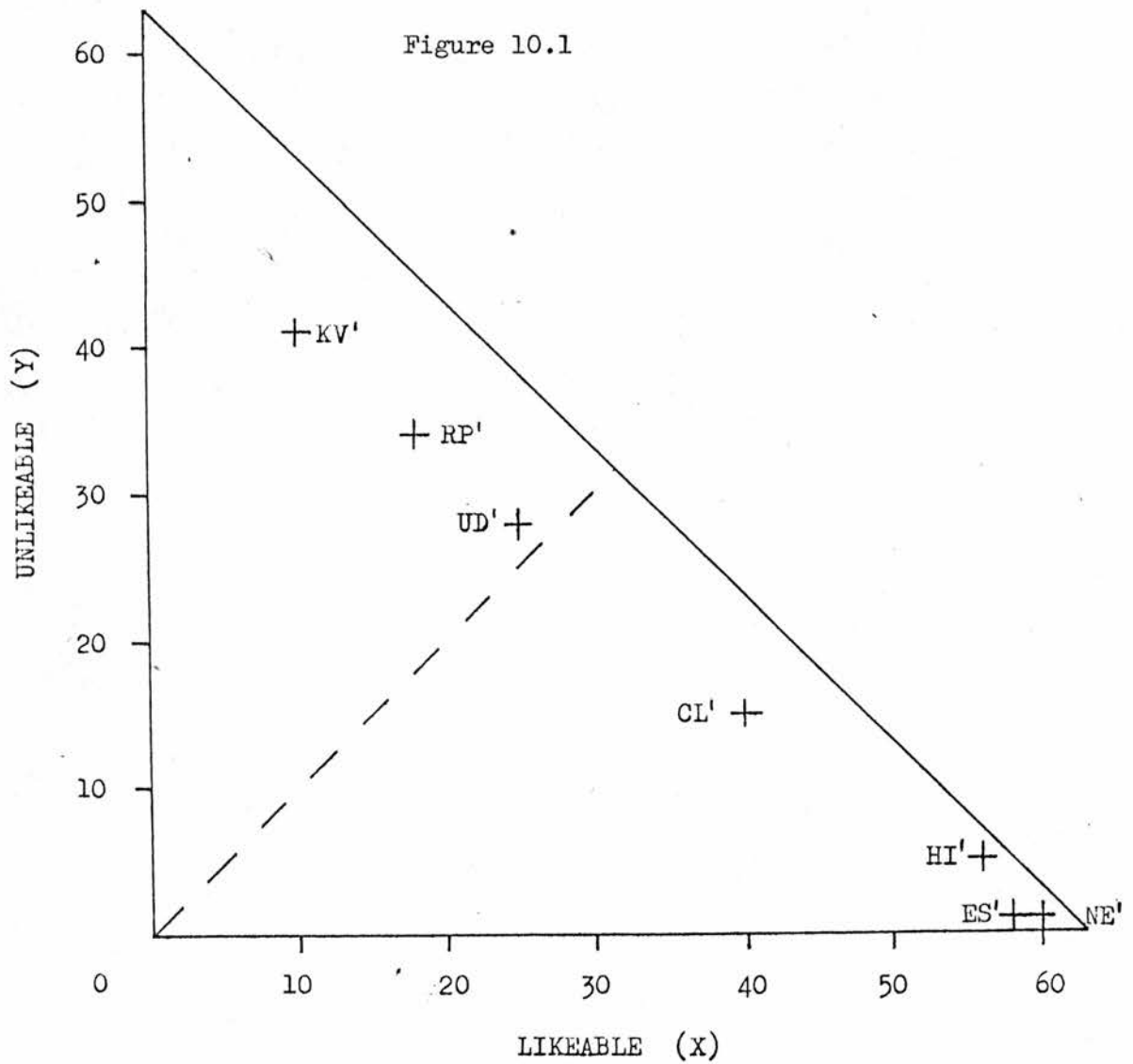
Variable B(ii).1 asked the teachers to indicate whether they thought that each of the speakers was LIKEABLE or UNLIKEABLE. Clearly, NE', ES' and HI' were the speakers thought by most of the respondents to be LIKEABLE, NE' by 60 (95.2), ES' by 58 (92.1) and HI' by 56 (88.9). Both NE' and ES' were thought to be UNLIKEABLE by only one in each case, and HI' by 5 (7.9). The only other speaker to have been judged by a majority as LIKEABLE is CL', by 40 (63.5) while 15 (23.8) thought that the speaker was UNLIKEABLE.

KV' was the speaker reckoned by most of the respondents to be UNLIKEABLE, 41 (65.1) only 10 (15.9) believing her to be LIKEABLE. RP' was also judged to be UNLIKEABLE overall but by a smaller majority, 34 (54.0) while 18 (28.6) perceived the speaker as LIKEABLE.

Concerning UD' the responses show a very even division

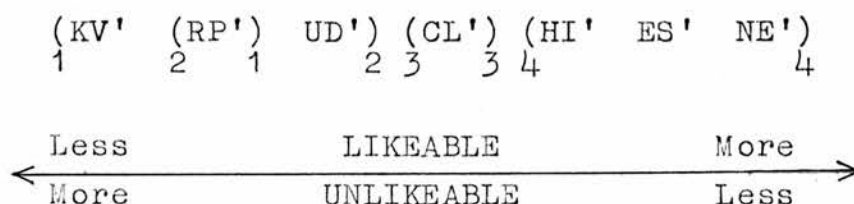
Table 10.1 Variable B(ii).1 - Likeable/Unlikeable

	X Like- able	Y Unlike- able	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	58	1	4	98.3	92.1	6.3
(UD')	25	28	10	47.2	39.7	15.9
(NE')	60	1	2	98.4	95.2	3.2
(RP')	18	34	11	34.6	28.6	17.4
(HI')	56	5	2	91.8	88.9	3.2
(KV')	10	41	12	19.6	15.9	19.0
(CL')	40	15	8	72.7	63.5	12.7



among the teachers: 28 (44.4) judged this speaker to be UNLIKEABLE, only three fewer, 25 (39.7), to be LIKEABLE.

Not unexpectedly the result for UD' was "indecisive", but this was the only such case here. When the speakers are compared with each other the following patterns emerge:



HI', ES' and NE' are shown not to have been perceived significantly differently one from the other. CL' stands on its own: though having been rated overall as LIKEABLE, it was by significantly fewer than HI', NE' and ES', and also by significantly more than these speakers as UNLIKEABLE. UD' is found not to have been perceived significantly differently from RP', both having been rated distinctly from each of the LIKEABLE speakers. KV' was judged by significantly fewer to be LIKEABLE and by more as UNLIKEABLE than UD', but was apparently not perceived differently from RP'.

HI', ES' and NE' as speakers are associated favourably on this variable as, indeed, they were in some instances as accents as noted in Section B(i), with KV', UD' and RP' much less favoured and CL' falling intermediately. Though RP' was perceived negatively overall, this was not by a large majority, and its associations might suggest a potentially more or less favourable perception than indicated in its data-point here.

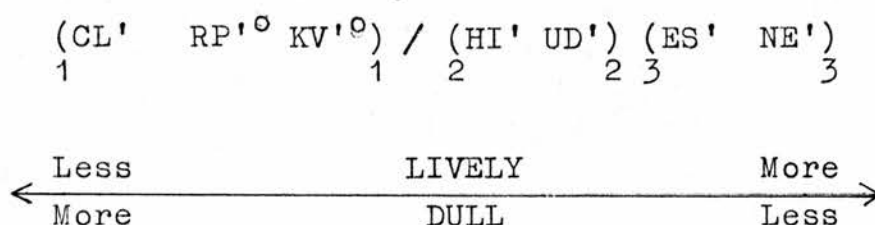
Variable B(ii).2 - LIVELY/DULL Table 10.2, Figure 10.2

Both NE' and ES' were rated by large majorities to be LIVELY, NE' by 54 (85.7), ES' by 50 (79.4), while only 2 (3.2) judged NE' to be DULL and 5 (7.9) ES' to be so.

HI' and UD' were also perceived overall as LIVELY, but by rather smaller majorities. HI' was thought by 34 (54.0) to be LIVELY and by 17 (27.0) to be DULL, while UD' was rated by 38 (60.3) as LIVELY, slightly more, and by 17 (27.0) also as DULL.

The speaker to be rated by the greatest number as DULL was CL', 41 (65.1), although 15 (23.8) did perceive this speaker as LIVELY.

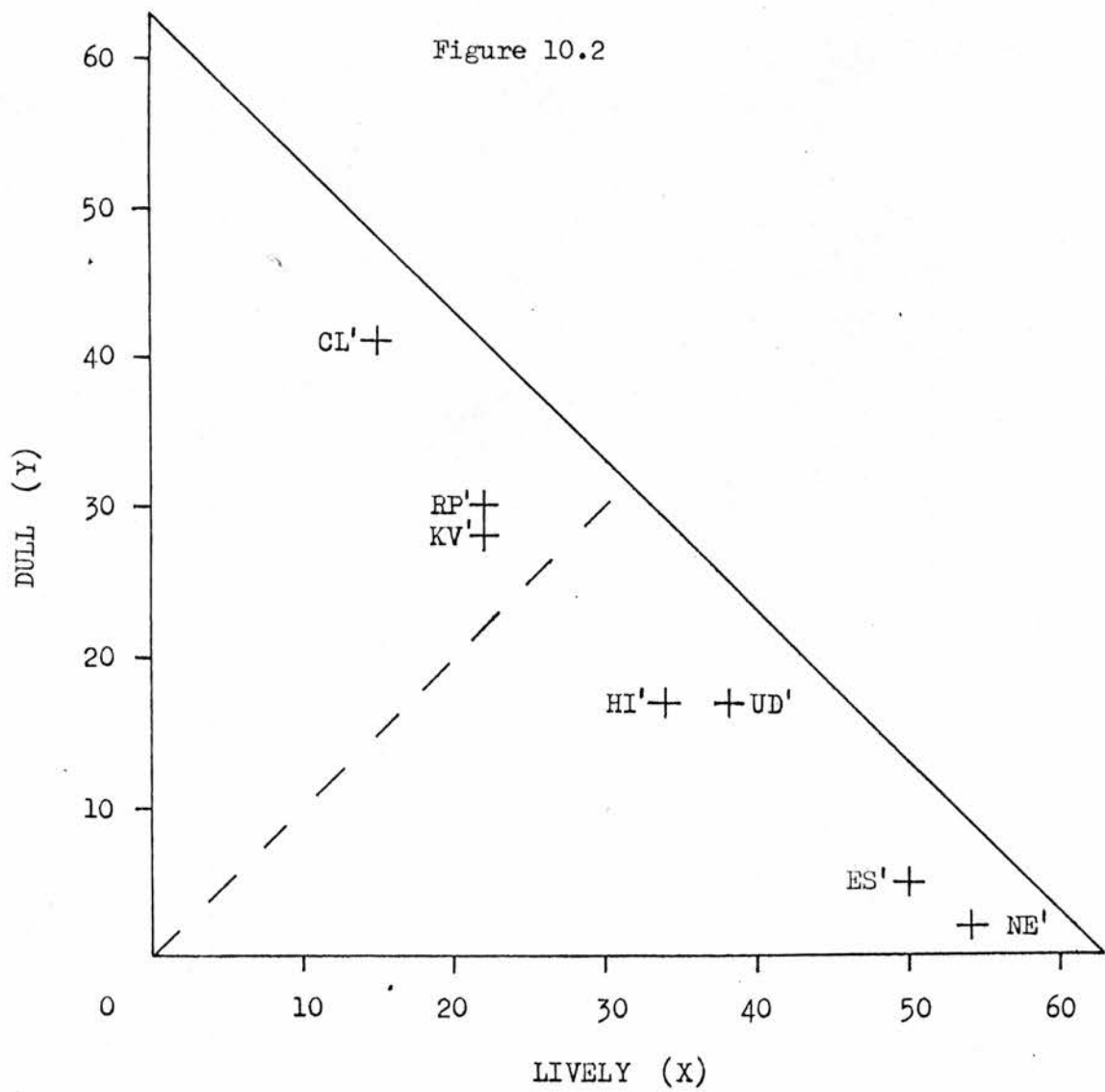
The responses to RP' and KV' were very similar, both showing fairly even division. Both were perceived by small majorities as DULL, RP' by 30 (47.6) and KV' by 28 (44.4), with 22 (34.9) rating both speakers as LIVELY.



The results for RP' and KV' are indecisive. When compared with each other the speakers fall into three distinct sets of association: one comprising ES' and NE' who were perceived by the vast majority as LIVELY; a second containing HI' and UD' each of which was perceived overall as LIVELY also but by significantly fewer than NE' and ES'; and a third set, CL', RP' and KV', perceived by numerical majorities as DULL, though only that for CL'

Table 10.2 Variable B(ii).2 - Lively/Dull

	X Lively	Y Dull	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	50	5	8	90.9	79.4	12.7
(UD')	38	17	8	69.1	60.3	12.7
(NE')	54	2	7	96.4	85.7	11.1
(RP')	22	30	11	42.3	34.9	17.5
(HI')	34	17	12	66.7	54.0	19.0
(KV')	22	28	13	44.0	34.9	20.7
(CL')	15	41	7	26.8	23.8	11.1



is decisive.

ES' and NE' are associated favourably once more as with the last variable, but HI' was perceived rather less favourably than these here, being in fact associated with UD' which elicited a moderately positive overall response. RP' and KV' are also found in association again but neither can be said to have been perceived significantly positively or negatively.

CL', the speaker rated by most as DULL, does speak perceptibly more slowly than the others and it is possible this contributed to the obtained result.

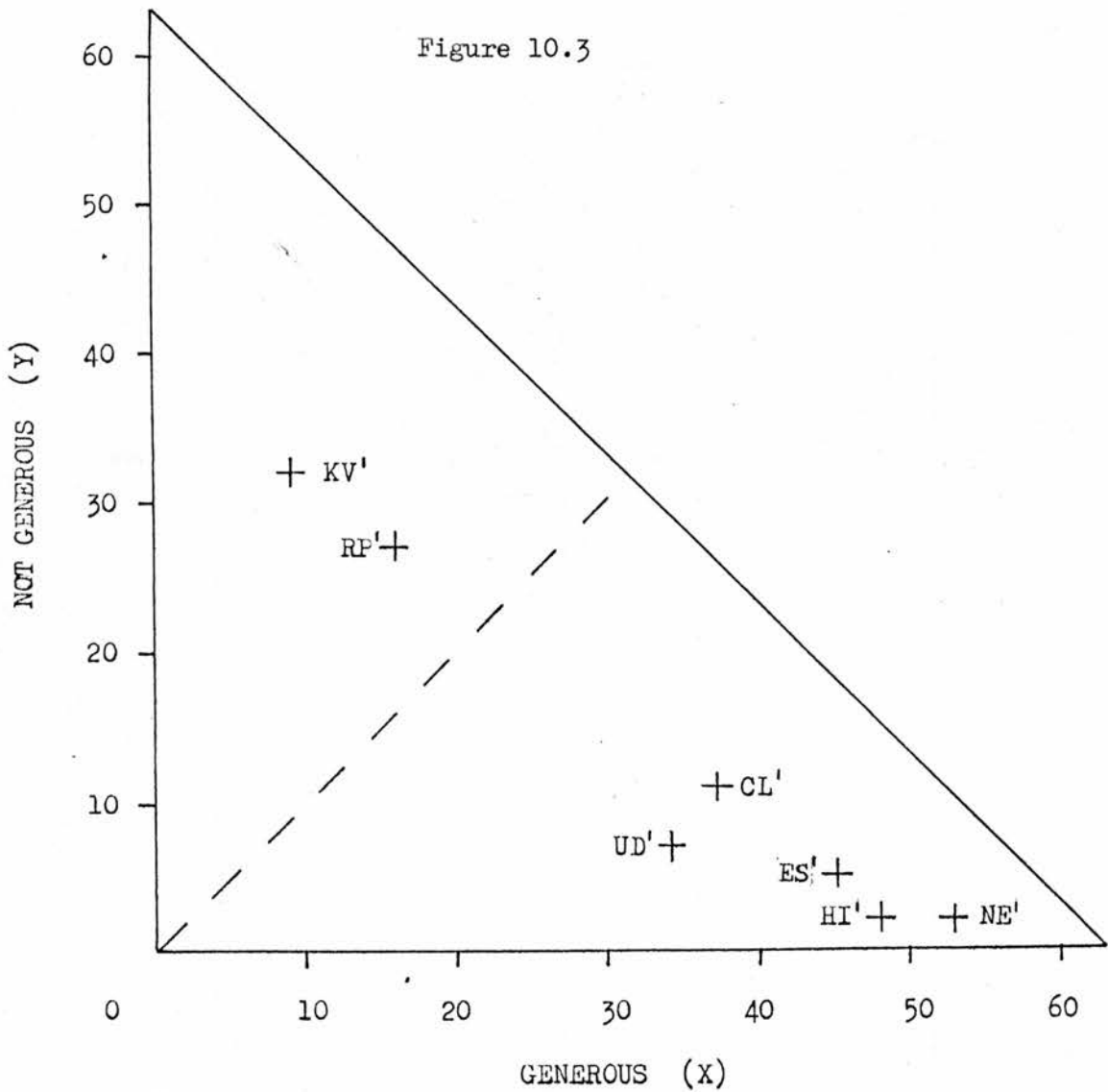
Variable B(ii).3 - GENEROUS/NOT GENEROUS Table 10.3,
Figure 10.3

This asked the teachers to rate the speakers either as GENEROUS or NOT GENEROUS. In fact, what is notable is the comparatively high number of abstentions, particularly for KV', RP' and UD', 22 (34.9), 20 (31.7) and 22 (34.9) respectively, or around a third of the sample. Clearly, many of the teachers either could not decide, or they did not believe that the description was appropriate. For these respondents there was nothing in the voices that triggered a reaction in terms of the variable one way or the other.

The actual responses reveal that all but two of the speakers were perceived overall as GENEROUS. NE' was rated as GENEROUS by 53 (84.1) only 2 (3.2) marking the speaker as NOT GENEROUS, as was the case also with HI', rated as GENEROUS by 48 (76.2). ES' was judged by slightly

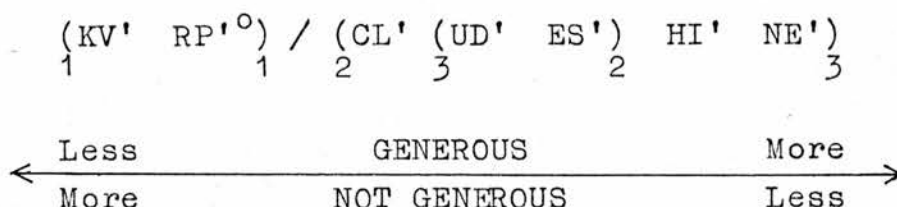
Table 10.3 Variable B(ii).3 - Generous/Not Generous

	X Generous	Y Not Gen- erous	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	45	5	13	90.0	71.4	20.6
(UD')	34	7	22	82.9	54.0	34.9
(NE')	53	2	8	96.4	84.1	12.7
(RP')	16	27	20	37.2	25.4	31.7
(HI')	48	2	13	96.0	76.2	20.6
(KV')	9	32	22	21.9	14.3	34.9
(CL')	37	11	15	77.1	58.7	23.8



fewer, 45 (71.4), as GENEROUS and by slightly more, 5 (8.0) as NOT GENEROUS. Also perceived quite clearly as GENEROUS were CL' and UD', CL' by 37 (58.7), UD' by 34 (54.0); CL' was judged by 11 (17.5) to be NOT GENEROUS, but UD' by slightly fewer 7 (11.1) to be so.

The two speakers thought by majorities to be NOT GENEROUS are KV' and RP', the first by 32 (50.8), the second by 27 (42.9) compared with 9 (14.3) who rated KV' as GENEROUS and 16 (25.4) who rated RP' so. KV' was, then, the speaker regarded by most numerically as NOT GENEROUS and by fewest as GENEROUS.



All the results are decisive except RP'.

The patterns of response are resolved into the two main groups, those speakers perceived as GENEROUS overall and those perceived as NOT GENEROUS, so that KV' and RP' are confirmed as having been rated by significantly more as NOT GENEROUS and by fewer as GENEROUS than each of the other speakers. Among the GENEROUS speakers, HI' and NE' were rated by significantly more as GENEROUS and by fewer as NOT GENEROUS than CL'. Neither UD' nor ES', however, can be perceived distinctly from CL' or from HI' or NE'.

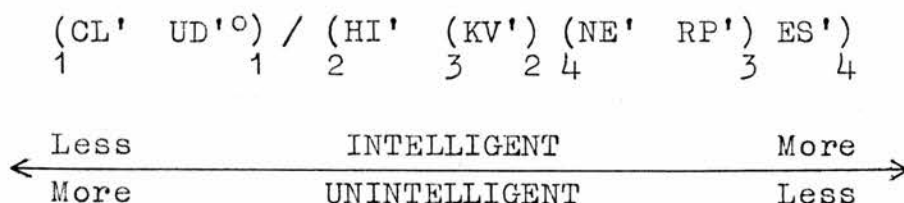
Again ES', NE' and HI' emerge very favourably with UD' and CL' also evaluated positively along with them, only CL' seems to have been rated distinctly less favourably than HI' and NE'. KV' and RP' are also associated once

more: neither was perceived positively overall, if not very negatively either, KV' only showing a decisive majority of the two.

Variable B(ii).4 - INTELLIGENT/UNINTELLIGENT Table 10.4, Figure 10.4

All but two speakers, CL' and UD', were perceived overall as INTELLIGENT. ES', RP' and NE' were seen as INTELLIGENT by most of the respondents, ES' by 57 (90.5), RP' by 54 (85.7) and NE' by 49 (77.8). ES' was rated as UNINTELLIGENT by only one, RP' and NE' by 3 (4.8) and 4 (6.3) respectively. KV' was also rated as INTELLIGENT overall by 39 (61.9) and as UNINTELLIGENT by 8 (12.7), while HI' was judged by 31 (49.2) as INTELLIGENT and by 14 (22.2) as UNINTELLIGENT, a majority in favour of the former.

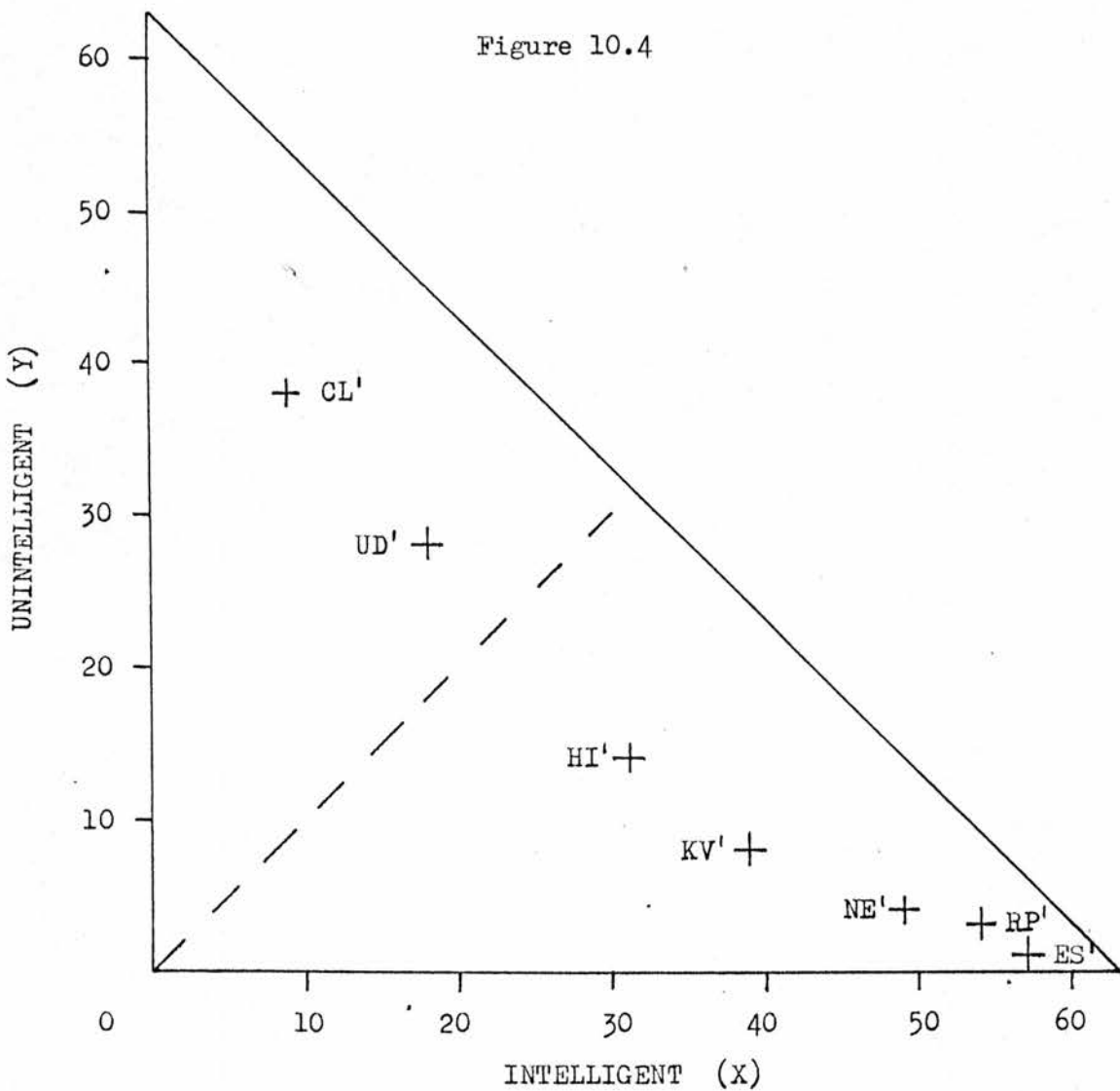
UD' and CL' were both judged by majorities to be UNINTELLIGENT, the latter by a larger one than the former. CL' was thought by 38 (60.3) to be UNINTELLIGENT, only 9 (14.3) believing the speaker to be INTELLIGENT. Rather fewer 28 (44.4) rated UD' as UNINTELLIGENT, and somewhat more, 18 (28.6), judged this speaker to be INTELLIGENT.



Only the result for UD' is found to be indecisive so that this speaker was perceived indeterminately with respect to the variable. CL' and UD' are shown not to have been

Table 10.4 Variable B(ii).4 - Intelligent/Unintelligent

	X Intell- igent	Y Unintell- igent	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	57	1	5	98.3	90.5	7.9
(UD)	18	28	17	39.1	28.6	25.4
(NE)	49	4	10	92.5	77.8	15.9
(RP)	54	3	6	94.7	85.7	9.5
(HI)	31	14	18	68.9	49.2	28.6
(KV)	39	8	16	83.0	61.9	25.4
(CL)	9	38	16	19.1	14.3	25.4



rated significantly differently from each other. Both were distinctly rated by more as UNINTELLIGENT than each of the other speakers.

Of the speakers perceived overall as INTELLIGENT HI' and KV' were both judged by significantly fewer as INTELLIGENT and by more as UNINTELLIGENT than ES', and this was also the case with HI' in relation to NE' and RP', while KV' is revealed not to be different from NE' and RP' statistically.

On this variable RP' was clearly perceived very favourably along with NE' and ES'. KV' was also viewed positively overall though apparently less so than ES'. HI' was also perceived less favourably than NE' and RP' but decisively as INTELLIGENT overall nevertheless.

The status of UD' in terms of the variable is indeterminate. CL' was perceived negatively overall and it is possible that the slower speech of CL' may have contributed to this.

There were in some cases a noteworthy number of NO RETURNS: 18 (28.6) in the case of HI', 17 (27.0) for UD' and 16 (25.4) in each instance for KV' and CL'.

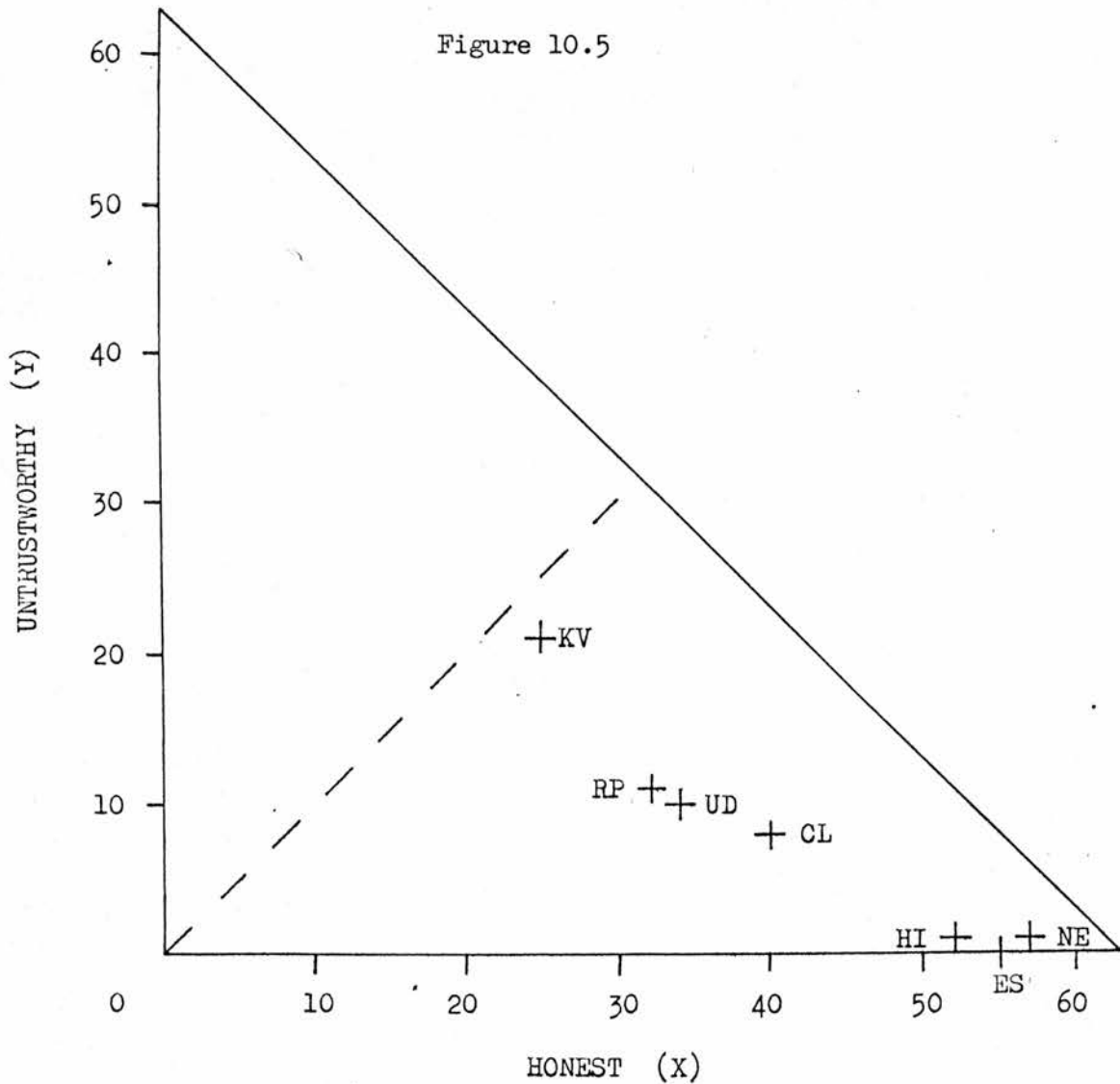
Variable B(ii).5 - HONEST/UNTRUSTWORTHY Table 10.5,
Figure 10.5

Once more to be noted is the quite high number of NO RETURNS for some of the speakers, 20 (31.7) for RP', 19 (30.1) for UD', 17 (27.0) for KV' and 15 (23.8) for CL'.

All the speakers were rated by majorities as HONEST, although in the case of KV' only 4 more rated the speakers

Table 10.5 Variable B(ii).5 - Honest/Untrustworthy

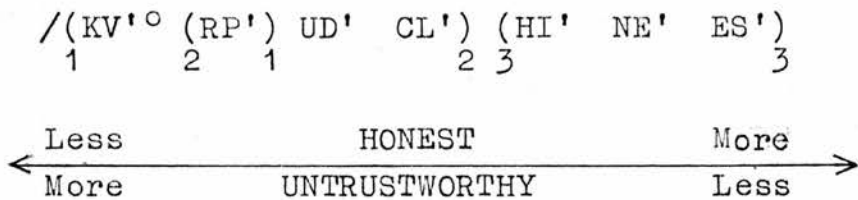
	X Honest	Y Untrust- worthy	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES)	55	0	8	100.0	87.3	12.7
(UD)	34	10	19	77.3	54.0	30.1
(NE)	57	1	5	98.3	90.1	7.9
(RP)	32	11	20	74.4	50.8	31.7
(HI)	52	1	10	98.1	82.5	15.9
(KV)	25	21	17	54.3	39.7	27.0
(CL)	40	8	15	83.3	63.5	23.8



so compared with those rating her UNTRUSTWORTHY, 25 (39.7) having decided on the former term, 21 (33.3) on the latter.

RP' and UD' have very similar ratings: RP' was perceived as HONEST by 32 (50.8) and UD' by 34 (54.0), with 11 (17.5) rating RP' as UNTRUSTWORTHY and 10 (15.9) UD' so. CL' was rated by slightly more, 40 (63.5) as HONEST and by slightly fewer 8 (12.7) as UNTRUSTWORTHY.

Of the three remaining speakers, the informants judged them more or less unreservedly as HONEST, 52 (82.5) rated HI' as HONEST, 55 (87.3) ES' and 57 (90.1) NE'. None thought that ES' was UNTRUSTWORTHY, and only one in each case HI' and NE'.



KV' was the only indecisive result.

When the data-points are compared with each other three groupings emerge: HI', NE' and ES' were each rated by significantly more as HONEST and by fewer as UNTRUSTWORTHY than each of the other speakers; UD' and CL' were each perceived by significantly more as HONEST and by fewer as UNTRUSTWORTHY than KV', but neither was perceived significantly differently compared with RP'; however, RP' was not judged significantly differently from KV'. Once more NE', ES' and HI' were the accents favoured the most widely by the teachers. CL', UD' and RP' were rated positively overall also though to a lesser extent. The speaker least favoured among the informants was KV', but even here the

overall outcome was indeterminate; if it cannot be said that this speaker was regarded favourably neither can she be said to have been regarded favourably.

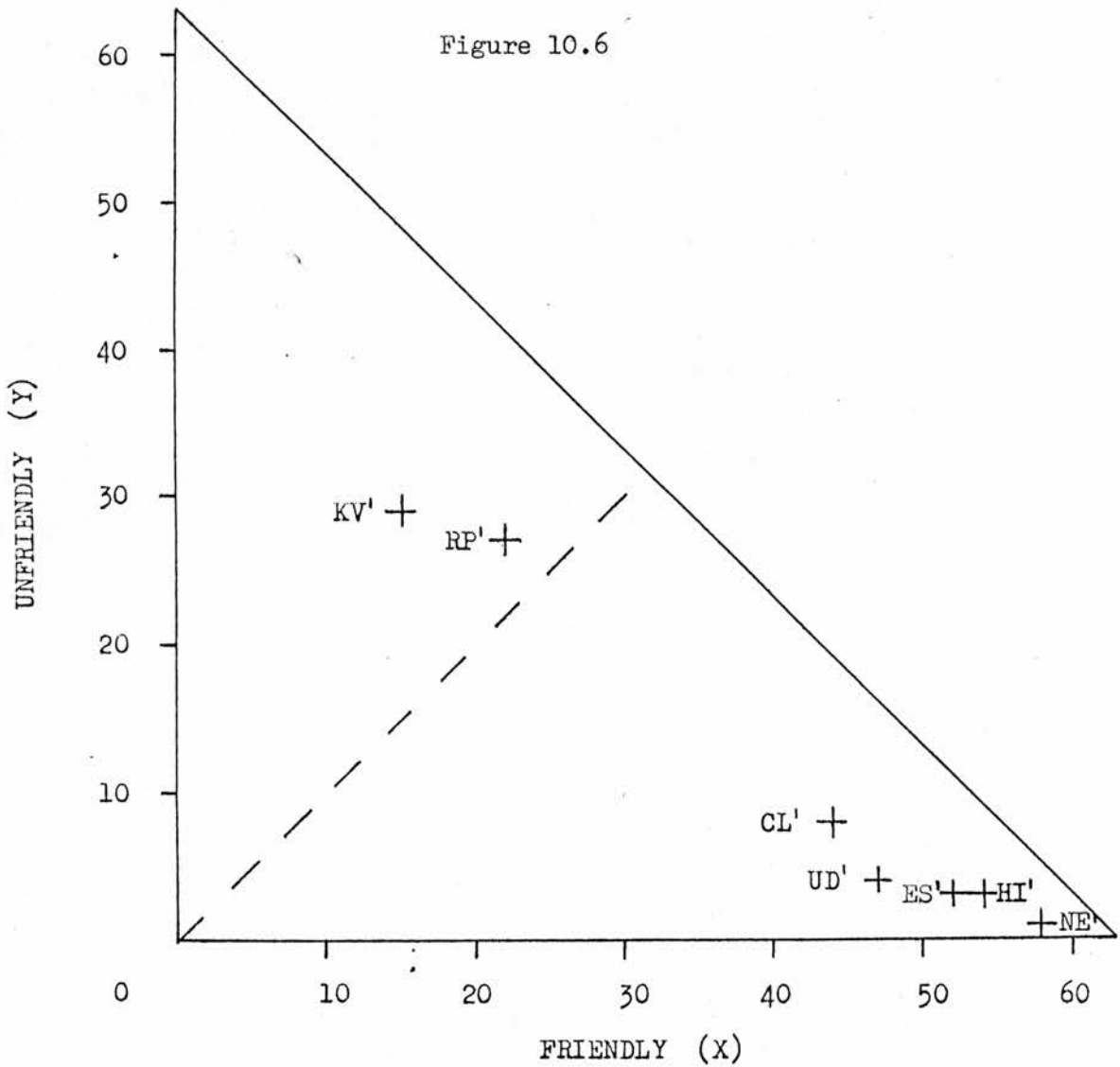
The variable seems to have elicited no great desire to stigmatise any speaker as UNTRUSTWORTHY. It may be suggested that there was an inhibition to rate speakers as UNTRUSTWORTHY. That is, it would be reasonable to mark a speaker as HONEST, so giving the benefit of the doubt, or to abstain on the grounds that such a decision is unreasonable based on a voice alone. The difficult decision is to mark a speaker as UNTRUSTWORTHY on this basis since it is a serious condemnation, although some people were prepared to do so. In MacKinnon (1977) a similar test dealing with reactions to Gaelic and English speakers uses this same description and a similar pattern of response was elicited, i.e. strongly positive (HONEST) or less positive with a high number of abstentions, but no overall negative rating. (op. cit. : 119)

Variable B(ii).6 - FRIENDLY/UNFRIENDLY Table 10.6,
Figure 10.6

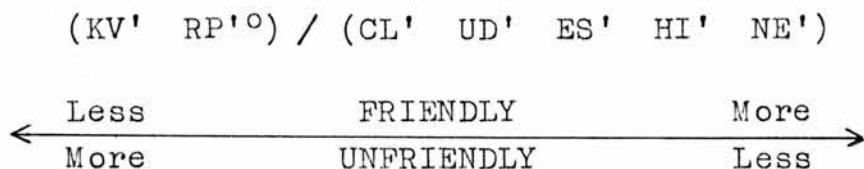
Five of the speakers, NE', HI', ES', UD' and CL' were perceived very clearly overall as FRIENDLY by 70% or more of the informants: NE' by 58 (92.1), HI' by 54 (85.7), ES' by 52 (82.5), UD' by 47 (74.6) and CL' by 44 (69.8). Only one thought NE' was UNFRIENDLY, while HI' and ES' were both judged to be so by only 3 (4.8) and UD' by 4 (6.4). Slightly more, 8 (12.7) believed CL' to be UNFRIENDLY.

Table 10.6 Variable B(ii).6 - Friendly/Unfriendly

	X Friendly	Y Unfr- iendly	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	52	3	8	94.5	82.5	12.7
(UD)	47	4	12	92.2	74.6	19.0
(NE)	58	1	4	98.3	92.1	6.3
(RP')	22	27	14	44.9	34.9	22.2
(HI')	54	3	6	94.7	85.7	9.5
(KV)	15	29	19	34.1	23.8	30.2
(CL')	44	8	11	84.6	69.8	17.5



The remaining two speakers, RP' and KV' were both rated by small majorities as UNFRIENDLY. KV' was thought to be UNFRIENDLY by 29 (46.0), and to be FRIENDLY by 15 (23.8). RP' was deemed UNFRIENDLY by 27 (42.9) and FRIENDLY by 22 (34.9), perceptibly more than KV'.



Only the result for RP' is not "decisive". The statistical tests confirm the clusterings of the data-points on the graph, i.e. both KV' and RP' were rated by significantly more as UNFRIENDLY and by fewer as FRIENDLY than CL', UD', ES' HI' or NE'. Less obviously, KV' and RP' are not perceived significantly differently, nor are the FRIENDLY speakers distinguishable from each other.

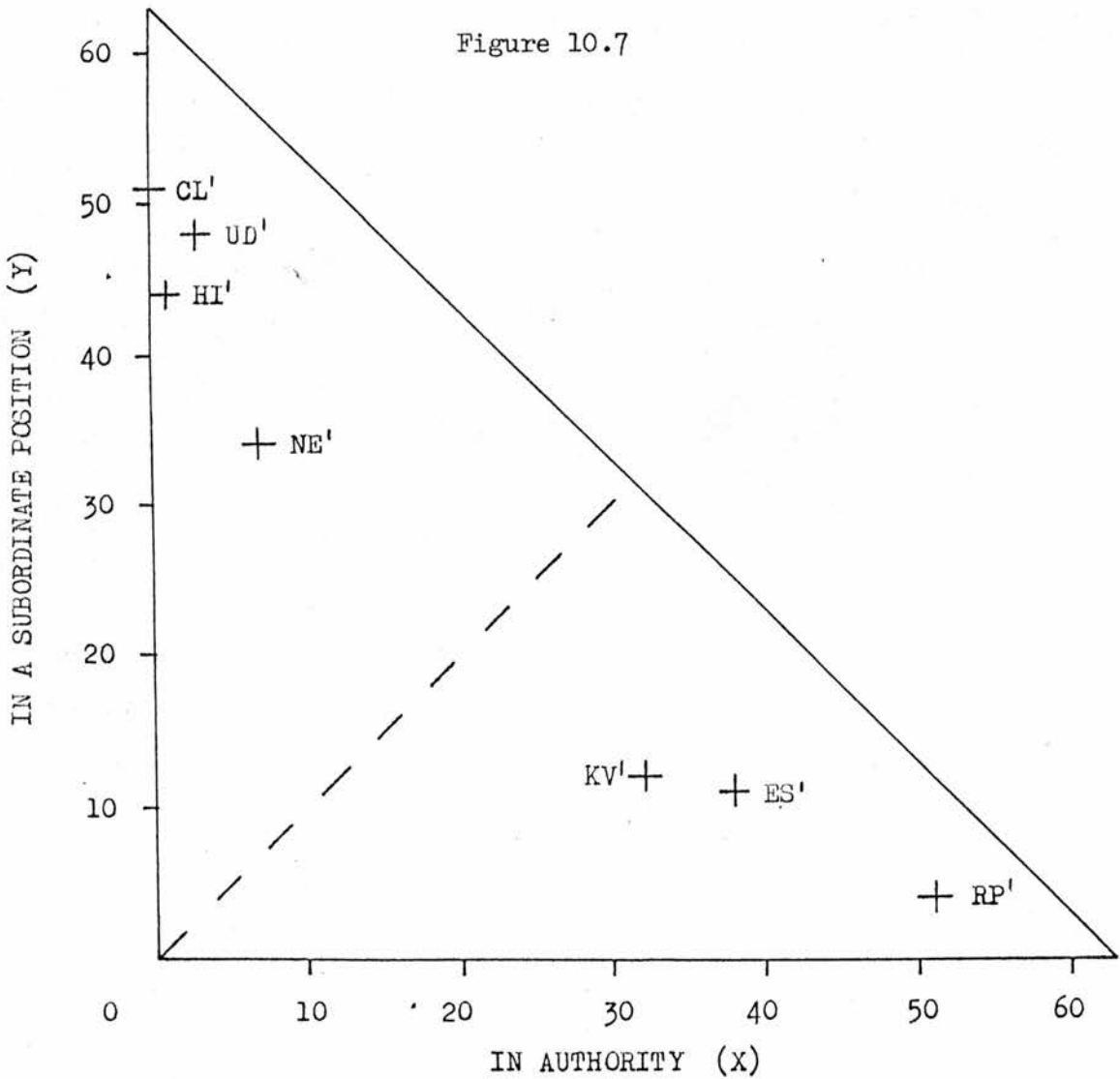
Five of the speakers, then, were rated unequivocally favourably overall as FRIENDLY, only RP' and KV' not having been perceived overall favourably. Only KV' was rated negatively by a decisive majority. Also, the highest number of NO RETURNS occurred for KV' and RP', 19 (30.2) for the former, 14 (22.2) for the latter, suggesting that for some informants these speakers were not obviously perceptible in terms of the variable.

Variable B(ii).7 - IN AUTHORITY/IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION
Table 10.7, Figure 10.7

Only three of the speakers were reckoned overall to be IN AUTHORITY, RP', ES' and KV', RP' by 51 (80.9), ES'

Table 10.7 Variable B(ii).7 - In Authority/In a Subordinate Position

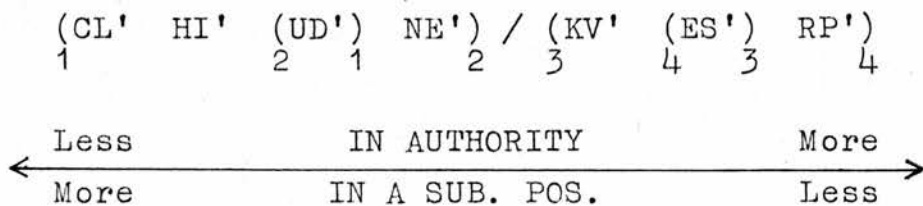
	X In Auth- ority	Y In a Sub. Position	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	38	11	14	77.6	60.3	22.2
(UD')	3	48	12	5.9	4.8	19.0
(NE')	7	34	22	17.1	11.1	34.9
(RP')	51	4	8	92.7	80.9	12.7
(HI')	1	44	18	2.2	1.6	28.6
(KV')	32	12	19	72.7	50.8	30.2
(CL')	0	51	12	0.0	0.0	19.1



by rather fewer 38 (60.3) and KV' by 32 (50.8). Only 4 (6.4) perceived RP' to be IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION, while ES' was rated by rather more, 11 (17.5) and KV' also by 12 (19.0) so.

CL', UD', HI' and NE' were rated overall to be IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION. 51 (80.9) perceived CL' to be IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION, none believing this speaker to be IN AUTHORITY. UD' was judged by 48 (76.2) to be IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION, and HI' by 44 (69.8) to be so; only 3 (4.8) saw UD', and only one HI' as IN AUTHORITY.

While 34 (54.0) judged NE' to be IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION and only 7 (11.1) to be IN AUTHORITY, 22 (34.9) gave NO RETURN, indicating a high proportion of respondents unable to place the speaker in terms of the variable. Also, 19 (30.2) abstained in the case of KV', 18 (28.6) in the case of HI' and 14 (22.2) in that of ES', these being the highest numbers, indicating the same problem.



All the results are decisive. The second set of tests confirm the two main divisions between those perceived overall as IN AUTHORITY and those perceived as IN A SUB. POS. In the first group KV' is revealed to have been rated by significantly fewer as IN AUTHORITY and by more as IN A SUB. POS. than RP'. ES' is found not to be distinguishable from either KV' or RP' in terms of the description. Of the speakers in the second group, CL', HI' and

UD' are not shown to have been perceived significantly differently from each other, but NE' was rated by significantly fewer as being IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION and by more as IN AUTHORITY than CL' or HI'. NE' was not perceived significantly differently from UD' however.

There was scarcely any doubt about RP' in terms of this variable among the teachers. There was more perhaps about ES' and certainly about KV', although both perceived clearly overall as IN AUTHORITY. NE' and HI' were not able to be characterised by a considerable number in each case, although those who did respond evidently saw them unfavourably, as was the case also with CL' and UD'. It may be noted that those speakers judged to be IN AUTHORITY are also those perceived least as SCOTTISH and most as ENGLISH, while those regarded most as SCOTTISH and least as ENGLISH were rated overall as IN A SUB. POS.

Variable B(ii).8 - ARTICULATE/INARTICULATE Table 10.8

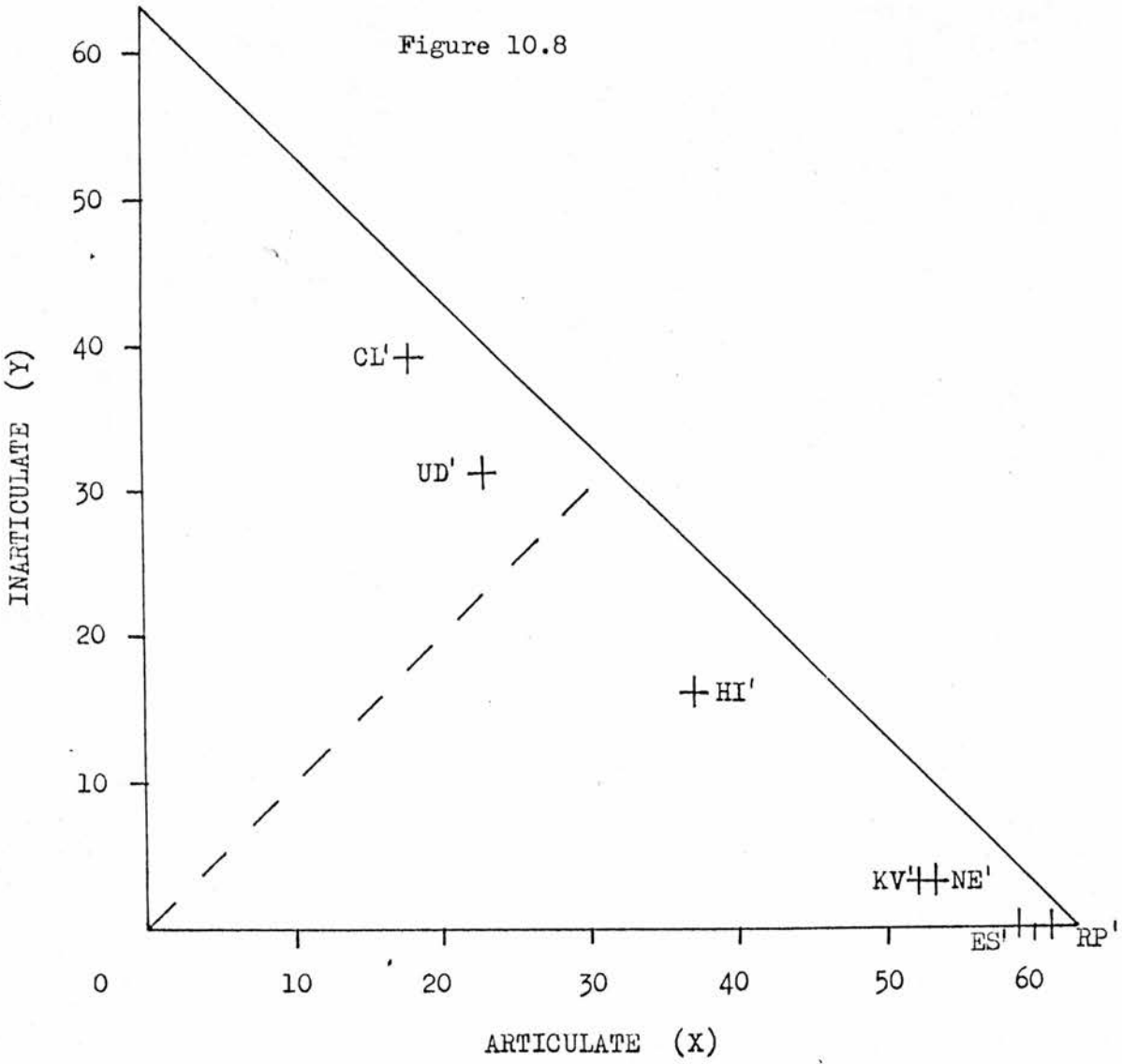
Figure 10.8

RP', ES', NE' and KV' were all judged by the vast majority of informants to be ARTICULATE, RP' by 61 (96.8), ES' by 59 (93.7), NE' by 53 (84.1) and KV' by 52 (82.5). None perceived RP' or ES' to be INARTICULATE, while both NE' and KV' were thought to be so by only 3 (4.8). HI' was also rated overall as ARTICULATE but to a considerably lesser extent numerically. 37 (58.7) judged HI' to be ARTICULATE but 16 (25.4) to be INARTICULATE.

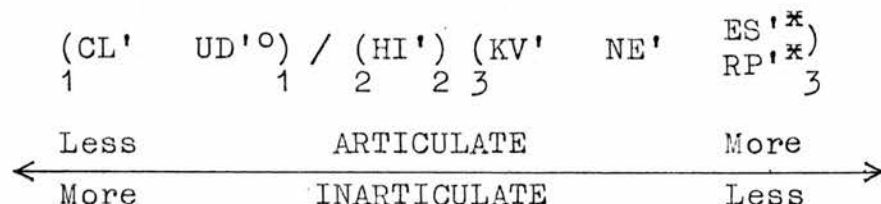
CL' and UD' were both perceived by majorities as INARTICULATE. 39 (61.9) rated CL' as INARTICULATE, but

Table 10.8 Variable B(ii).8 - Articulate/Inarticulate

	X Articulate	Y Inarticulate	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	59	0	4	100.0	93.7	6.3
(UD')	23	31	9	42.6	36.5	14.3
(NE')	53	3	7	94.6	84.1	11.1
(RP')	61	0	2	100.0	96.8	3.2
(HI')	37	16	10	69.8	58.7	15.9
(KV')	52	3	8	94.5	82.5	12.7
(CL')	18	39	6	31.6	28.6	9.5



rather fewer, 31 (49.2), rated UD' so, while 18 (28.6) saw CL' as ARTICULATE and slightly more, 23 (36.5), saw UD' so.



Only UD' is found to be indecisive. KV', NE', ES' and RP' are found not to have been perceived significantly differently one from each other. HI' was rated by significantly fewer as ARTICULATE and by more as INARTICULATE than each of these, also by significantly more as ARTICULATE and by fewer as INARTICULATE than both CL' and UD'. CL' and UD' were not perceived significantly differently, each having been rated by more as INARTICULATE and by fewer as ARTICULATE than each of the other speakers.

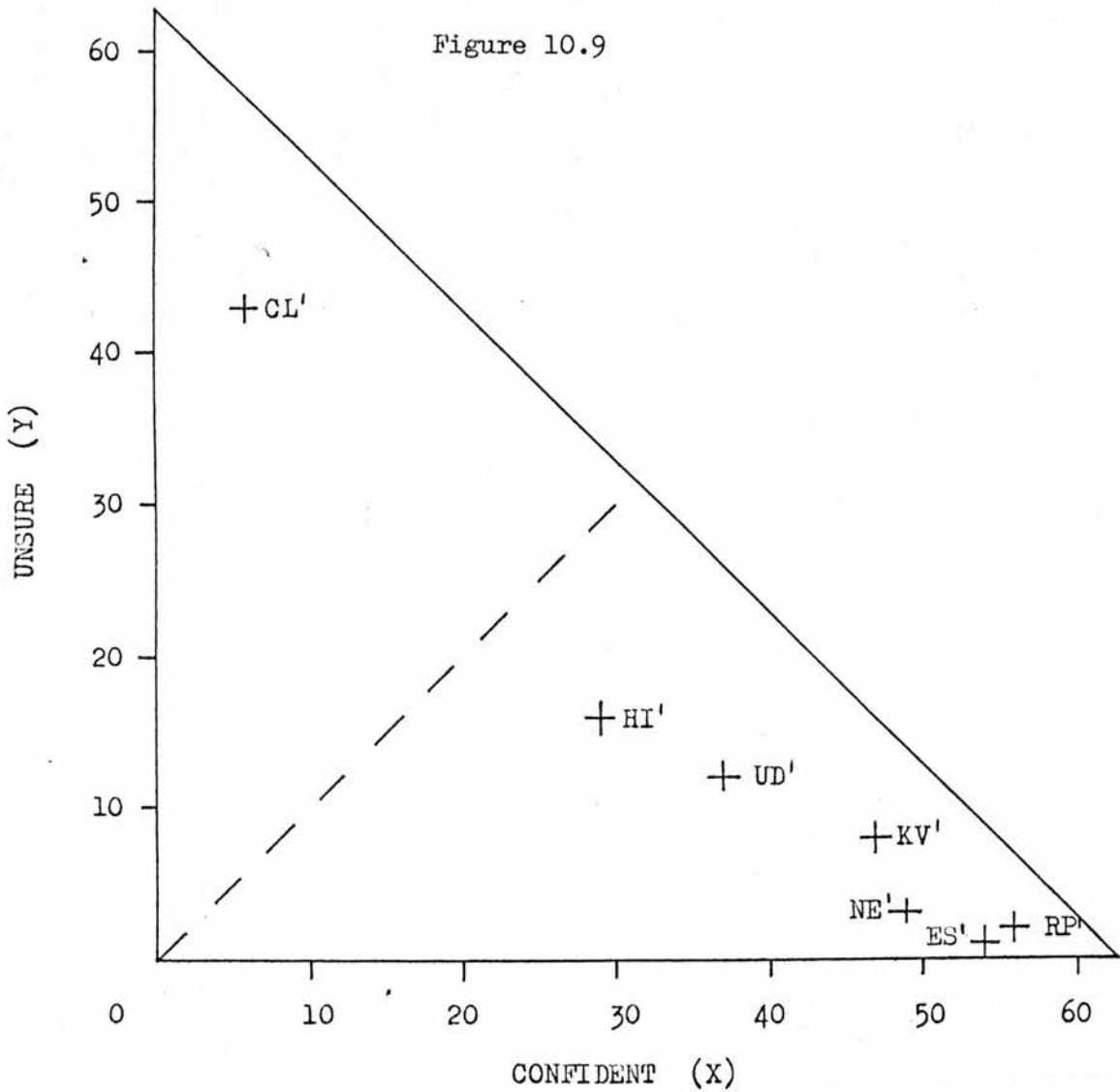
RP', ES', NE' and KV' emerge as favoured by almost all the informants on this variable, with HI' favoured also though to a lesser extent. UD' was not determinate with respect to the variable, neither favoured nor disfavoured overall, while CL' is shown to have found some disfavour.

Variable B(ii).9 - CONFIDENT/UNSURE Table 10.9, Figure 10.9

All but one of the speakers, CL', were rated overall as CONFIDENT to varying extents. RP' and ES' were judged to be CONFIDENT by the vast majority of the respondents, RP' by 56 (88.9), ES' by 54 (85.7). Only 2 (3.2) perceived RP', and one ES' as UNSURE. NE' was thought to be CONFIDENT by slightly fewer, 49 (77.8), only 3 (4.8) rating the speaker

Table 10.9 Variable B(ii).9 - Confident/Unsure

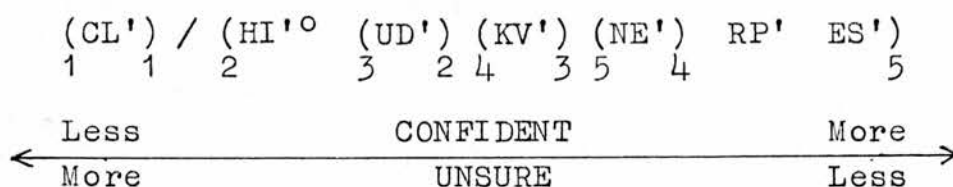
	X Confident	Y Unsure	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	54	1	8	98.2	85.7	12.7
(UD')	37	12	14	75.5	58.7	22.2
(NE')	49	3	11	94.2	77.8	17.4
(RP')	56	2	5	96.6	88.9	7.9
(HI')	29	16	18	64.4	46.0	28.6
(KV')	47	8	8	85.5	74.6	12.7
(CL')	6	43	14	12.2	9.5	22.2



as UNSURE. KV' was seen by a similar figure to NE', 47 (74.6), though 8 (12.7), rather more, regarded this speaker as UNSURE.

UD' and HI' were reckoned by considerably fewer to be CONFIDENT, 37 (58.7) in the case of UD', and 29 (46.0) in the case of HI'. 12 (19.1) perceived UD', and 16 (25.4) HI' as UNSURE.

CL' was quite clearly perceived as UNSURE overall, by 43 (68.3), while only 6 (9.5) rated this speaker as CONFIDENT.



Only one result is found to be indecisive, that for HI'. The pattern of relationships revealed by the tests of comparison is quite complex. HI' was perceived differently from KV', NE', RP' and ES', having been rated by significantly more as UNSURE and by fewer as CONFIDENT than each of these speakers, though CL' was not perceived distinctly from UD'. UD' was rated significantly differently overall from NE', ES' and RP', again having been judged by significantly more as UNSURE and by fewer as CONFIDENT than these, but UD' was not perceived distinctly from KV'. KV' was perceived significantly differently from RP' and ES' according to the same relationship, though not differently from NE', while NE' is not found to have been rated differently overall from either ES' or RP'.

The position of CL' as having been perceived by significantly more as UNSURE and by fewer as CONFIDENT than each

of the other speakers is merely confirmed.

Clearly NE', RP' and ES' were perceived favourably and by almost all who responded to them, with KV' also rated positively though to a lesser extent than RP' and ES'. UD' and HI' received a less general overall response as CONFIDENT. Only CL' was quite clearly judged UNFAVOURABLY overall in terms of this variable. Again, it may be the slower tempo of CL's speech which has been crucial. If this is so, then it is a fault in presentation in that CL' is not then entirely comparable with the other speakers whose tempos are not perceptibly slower or faster in relation to each other. But that distinctive tempo may be a factor in the perception of a speaker on some characteristics is nevertheless interesting. This would bear further examination.

Variable B(ii).10 - WELL-OFF FINANCIALLY/POORLY-OFF

Table 10.10, Figure 10.10

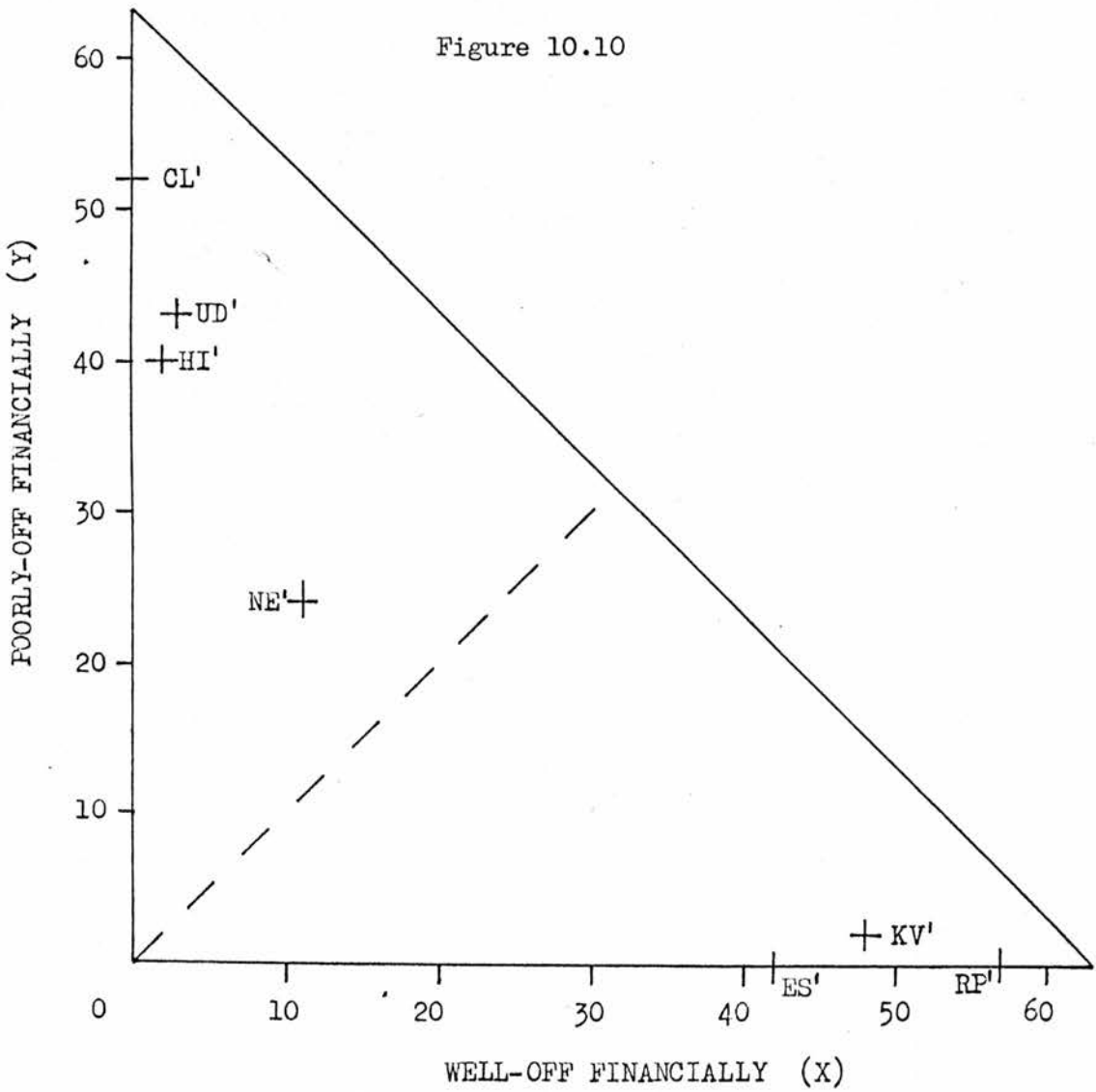
Three of the speakers were quite clearly perceived as WELL-OFF overall, RP', KV' and ES', while the others were rated to varying extents as POORLY-OFF.

RP' was judged by 57 (90.5), KV' by 48 (76.2) and ES' by 42 (66.7) to be WELL-OFF. None thought that RP' or ES' were POORLY-OFF, while only 2 (3.2) rated KV' so.

CL' was perceived by the largest number to be POORLY-OFF, 52 (82.5), none believing this speaker to be WELL-OFF. UD' and HI' were rated as POORLY-OFF by rather fewer, UD' by 43 (68.2), HI' by 40 (63.5). Only 3 (4.8) judged UD' to be POORLY-OFF and 2 (3.2) HI' to be so.

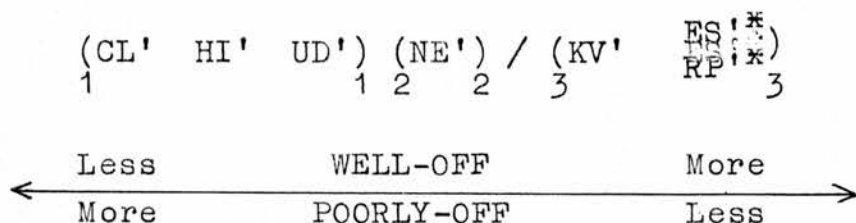
Table 10.10 Variable B(ii).10 - Well Off/Poorly Off Financially

	X Well Off	Y Poorly Off	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	42	0	21	100.0	66.7	33.3
(UD')	3	43	17	6.5	4.8	27.0
(NE')	11	24	28	31.4	17.5	44.4
(RP')	57	0	6	100.0	90.5	9.5
(HI')	2	40	21	4.8	3.2	33.3
(KV')	48	2	13	96.0	76.2	20.6
(CL')	0	52	11	0.0	0.0	17.5



The overall response to NE' was really one of uncertainty. 28 (44.4) gave no response to this speaker on the variable. Of those who did respond 24 (38.1) saw NE' as POORLY-OFF and 11 (17.5) as WELL-OFF, a majority for the former description.

Evidently, those who provided no observation for NE' had difficulty in characterising this speaker in terms of the variable. Similarly, sizeable numbers gave no response for ES', HI' and UD', 21 (33.3) in the cases of ES' and HI' and 17 (27.0) in that of the last.



The tests of comparison resolve the speakers into three groupings which can be seen clearly on the graph. CL', HI' and UD' were each perceived by significantly more as POORLY-OFF and by fewer as WELL-OFF than each of the other speakers, including NE'. KV', ES' and RP' were each rated by significantly more as WELL-OFF and by fewer as POORLY-OFF than each of the other speakers, including NE'. CL', HI' and UD' were not rated significantly differently from each other; nor were KV', ES' and RP' perceived differently, one from the other.

There was no doubt on this variable about RP' who was clearly rated positively, none perceiving this speaker negatively. This was also the case with ES', although here a third of the entire sample evidently felt unable to consider the speaker as WELL-OFF. However, neither did

they perceive ES' as POORLY-OFF at all. For these respondents the financial status of ES' would seem to fall somewhere in between the two terms. There was less doubt over KV' which was seen equally favourably according to comparison of the actual responses.

These three speakers were perceived in marked contrast to the others who were rated negatively overall, although some uncertainty was shown over UD' and HI' but most particularly over NE' where the largest number abstained. This result would seem to say that NE' is really not very readily identifiable either as WELL-OFF or POORLY-OFF, but there is a tendency to rate the speaker negatively.

Variable B(ii).11 - WELL EDUCATED/POORLY EDUCATED

Table 10.11, Figure 10.11

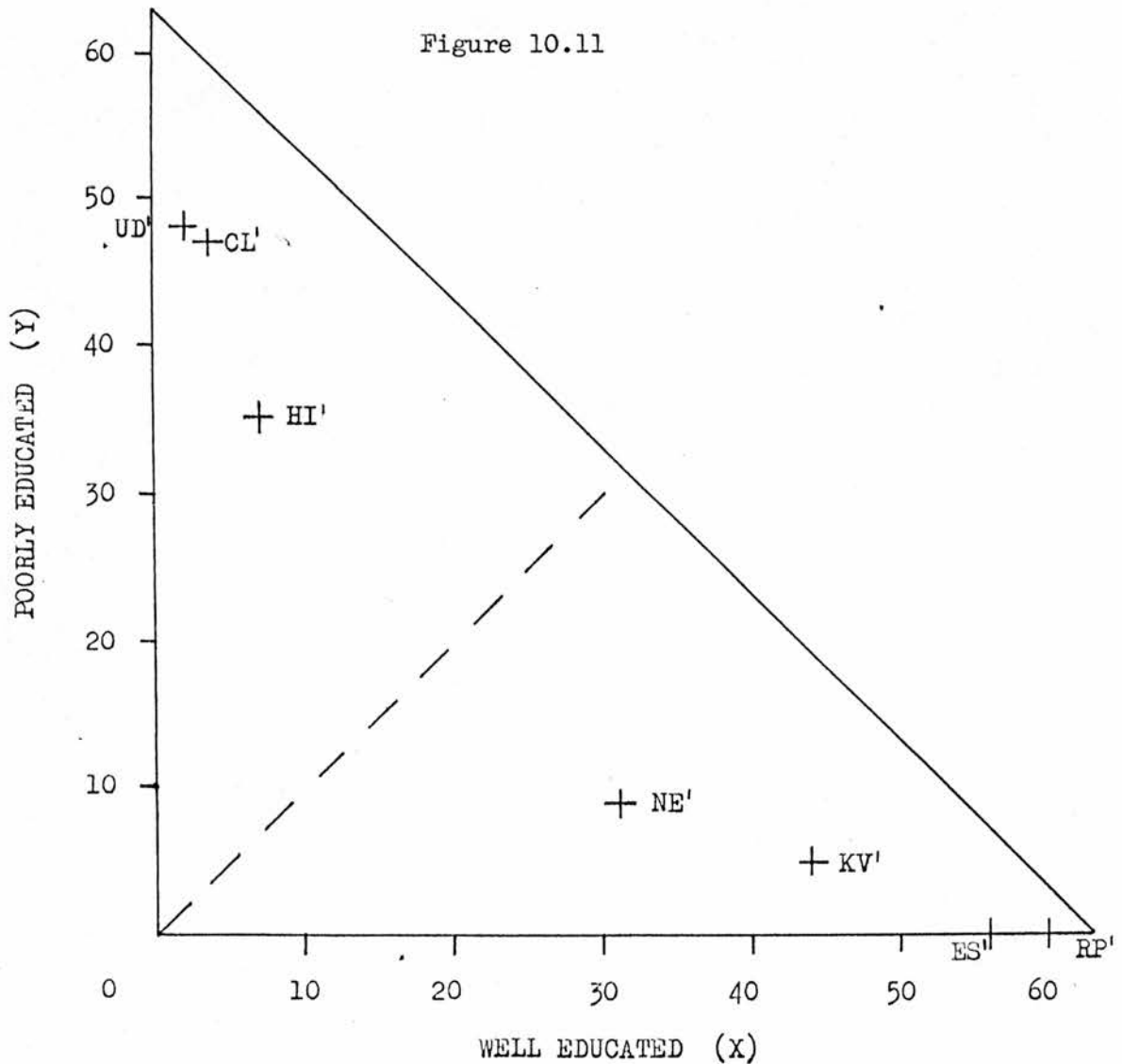
Among the variables in B(i), the section relating to accent, was EDUCATED/UNEDUCATED. Complementary to this here is variable B(ii).11 where the respondents were asked to categorise each speaker as either WELL EDUCATED or POORLY EDUCATED.

Four of the speakers, RP', ES', KV' and NE' were perceived overall as WELL EDUCATED, while the three others, UD', CL' and HI' were rated overall as POORLY EDUCATED.

RP' was judged by the vast majority of the teachers to be WELL EDUCATED, 60 (95.2), and ES' by slightly fewer 56 (88.9) also as WELL EDUCATED. None rated either of these speakers as POORLY EDUCATED. A large majority, 44 (69.8) rated KV' also as WELL EDUCATED, only 5 (8.0) believing the speaker to be POORLY EDUCATED.

Table 10.11 Variable B(ii).11 - Well Educated/Poorly Educated

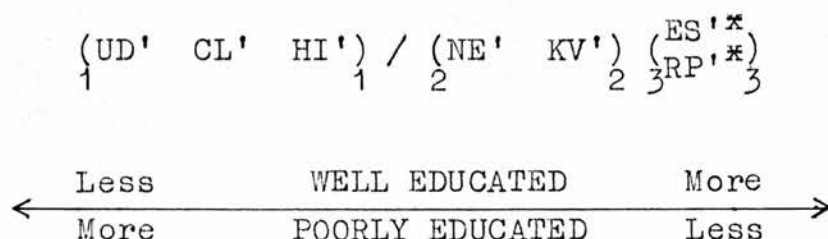
	X Well Edu- -cated	Y Poorly Educat.	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	56	0	7	100.0	88.9	11.1
(UD')	2	48	13	4.0	3.2	20.6
(NE')	31	9	23	77.5	49.2	36.5
(RP')	60	0	3	100.0	95.2	4.8
(HI')	7	35	21	16.7	11.1	33.3
(KV')	44	5	14	89.8	69.8	22.2
(CL')	3	47	13	6.0	4.8	20.6



A feature of the result for NE' is once more a relatively high number of abstentions, 23 (36.5). Of those who recorded observations for this speaker, 31 (49.2) thought that the speaker was WELL EDUCATED, while only 9 (14.3) rated NE' as POORLY EDUCATED. Thus, the vast majority is divided between those who reckoned NE' to be WELL EDUCATED and those who were unable to class the speaker in terms of the variable.

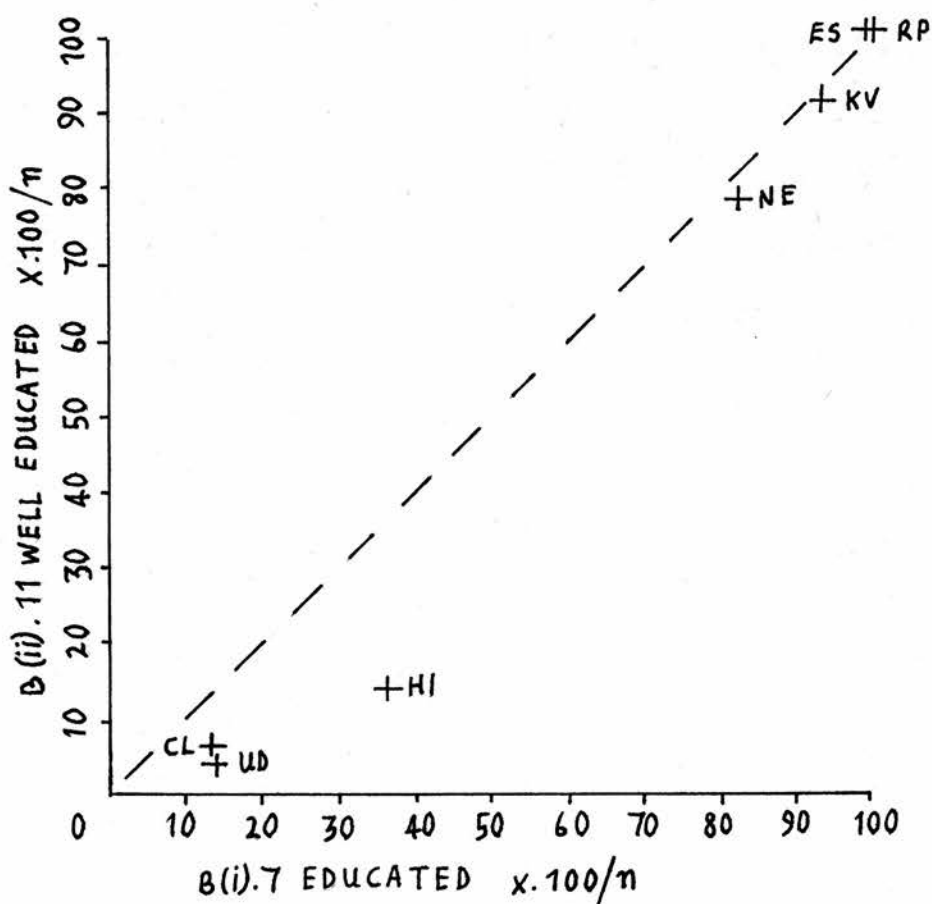
Of the three speakers judged overall to be POORLY EDUCATED, UD' and CL' were rated very similarly in numerical terms: UD' was rated by 48 (76.2) and CL' by 47 (74.6) as POORLY EDUCATED, only 2 (3.2) perceiving the former, and 3 (4.8) the latter as WELL EDUCATED.

Rather fewer, 35 (55.6), rated HI' as POORLY EDUCATED, while 7 (11.1) perceived the speaker as WELL EDUCATED. To be noted here also is the number of abstentions, 21 (33.3), so that one third of all informants were unable to characterise in terms of the given descriptions.



All the results were decisive. The tests of comparison resolve the speakers into three discrete groupings: UD', CL' and HI' which were each rated by significantly more as POORLY EDUCATED and by fewer as WELL EDUCATED than each of the other speakers; NE' and KV', each perceived by fewer as WELL EDUCATED and by more as POORLY EDUCATED

Figure 10.11.1



Comparison of Variable $B(i).7 \text{ EDUCATED/UNEDUCATED}$ (accent)
 with Variable $B(ii).11 \text{ WELL EDUCATED/POORLY EDUCATED}$ (speaker)
 with respect to the value $x.100/n$

than ES' or RP'; and ES' and RP', each rated by significantly more as WELL EDUCATED than each of the other speakers, and by significantly fewer as POORLY EDUCATED. ES' with RP' could not be calculated, but since their results are proportionately identical, no significant difference is assumed.

We would expect the results for this variable to correlate well with those for the accent description B(i).7 EDUCATED/UNEDUCATED by showing similar levels of response to each accent/speaker on the two variables. Figure 10.11.1 plots the values of $x.100/n$ for both variables against one another. The results show a very good correlation for all the accents/speakers except perhaps HI where the accent was perceived by proportionately rather more as EDUCATED than the speaker was judged to be WELL-EDUCATED, although in both cases the levels were low.

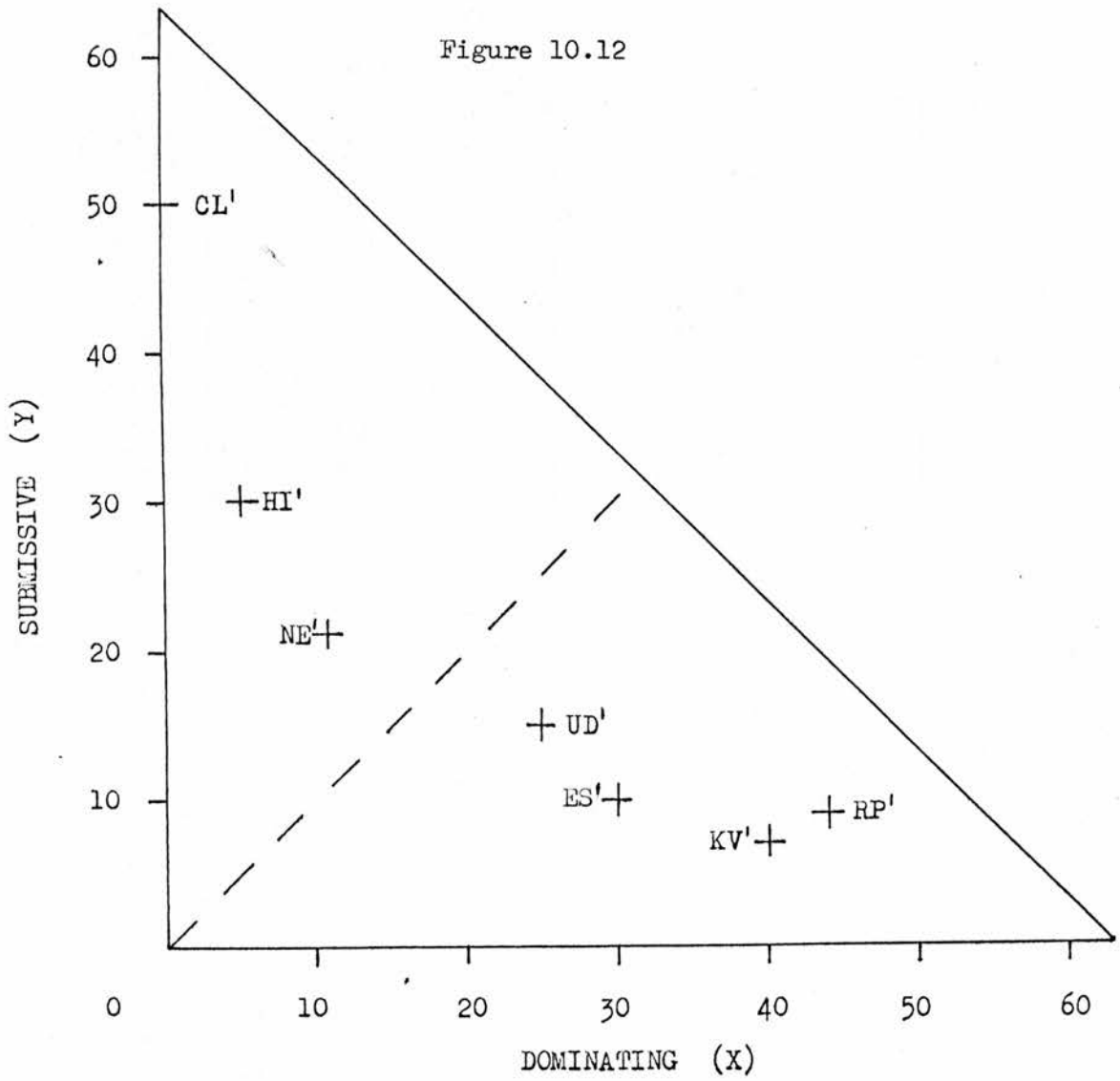
Variable B(ii).12 - DOMINATING/SUBMISSIVE Table 10.12,
Figure 10.12

What is immediately apparent here is the large number of abstentions, particularly for ES', UD', NE' and HI'. 23 (36.5) provided no observation for both ES' and UD'; 28 (44.5) abstained in the case of HI'; and 31 (49.2), half the informants, gave no return for NE'. Clearly, placing these speakers in terms of the given description proved impossible for many of the teachers.

When the actual responses are considered, the most clear-cut result was that for CL', rated by 50 (79.4) as SUBMISSIVE and by none at all as DOMINATING. The results

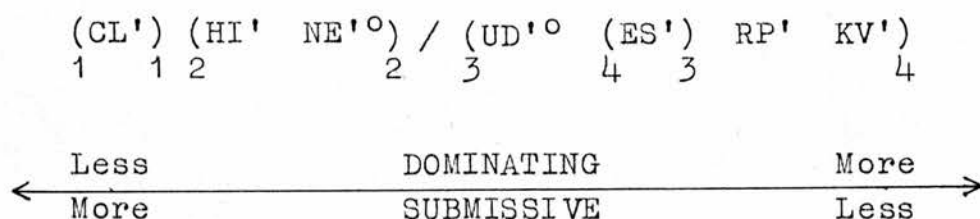
Table 10.12 Variable B(ii).12 - Dominating/Submissive

	X Domin- ating	Y Submi- ssive	ϕ No Return	$\frac{X\%}{X+Y}$	$\frac{X\%}{63}$	$\frac{\phi\%}{63}$
(ES')	30	10	23	75.0	47.6	36.5
(UD')	25	15	23	62.5	39.7	36.5
(NE')	11	21	31	34.4	17.5	49.2
(RP')	44	9	10	83.0	69.8	15.9
(HI')	5	30	28	14.3	7.9	44.5
(KV')	40	7	16	85.1	63.5	25.4
(CL')	0	50	13	0.0	0.0	20.6



for RP' and KV' were reasonably definite, RP' having been perceived by 44 (69.8) as DOMINATING, and KV' by 40 (63.5) also as DOMINATING. 19 (14.3) regarded RP' as SUBMISSIVE and 7 (11.1) KV' as so. ES' and UD' were also judged overall to be dominating, ES' by 30 (47.6) and UD' by 25 (39.7). ES' was rated by 10 (15.9) and UD' by rather more 15 (23.8) as SUBMISSIVE.

HI' and NE', like CL', were perceived by majorities of the respondents as SUBMISSIVE, HI' by 30 (47.6) and NE' by 21 (33.3). Only 5 (7.9) reckoned HI' to be DOMINATING while 11 (17.5) thought NE' was so.



The results for NE' and UD' are both found to be indecisive.

CL' is revealed to have been perceived by significantly more as SUBMISSIVE and by fewer as DOMINATING than each of the other speakers, including HI' and NE' (who were not rated significantly differently). UD' was judged by fewer to be SUBMISSIVE and by more to be DOMINATING than HI' or NE', but by more as SUBMISSIVE and by fewer as DOMINATING than RP' and KV', though not significantly differently from ES'. RP' and KV' were each perceived by significantly more as DOMINATING and by fewer as SUBMISSIVE than each of the other speakers except ES'.

The characteristics which comprise this variable,

DOMINATING and SUBMISSIVE, may both be regarded as negative traits. Thus, where a large number abstained this may be interpreted as at least a non-negative response to the speaker if not a positive one. Given this, NE' and HI' were the speakers disfavoured by fewest. RP', KV' and CL' were the speakers disfavoured by most, the last in a different sense though to the first two.

As with the variables relating to accent, the speakers may now be considered in terms of stereotyped responses and non-stereotyped responses as defined here, following the same procedure. Table 10.13a gives the primary profiles for the characteristics relating to speaker, table 10.13b the secondary profiles.

It can be seen from table 10.13a that the speaker stereotyped favourably on most characteristics, nine, is ES', so that the overall positive response to it as an accent in the previous section is paralleled here. ES' is stereotyped as LIKEABLE, LIVELY, INTELLIGENT, HONEST, FRIENDLY, ARTICULATE, CONFIDENT, *WELL OFF and WELL EDUCATED. Furthermore, the secondary profile for ES' (in table 10.13b) shows an overall positive perception of the speaker as GENEROUS and IN AUTHORITY, and a negative one only as DOMINATING.

NE' was perceived very similarly to ES', (as was the case in section B(i)), differing from ES' in not eliciting a stereotyped response as WELL EDUCATED. The main contrasts are found in the secondary profile where NE' was perceived overall as IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION and POORLY OFF,

Table 10.13a

Primary Profiles (Section B(ii)): Stereotyped Responses to Speakers

	ES'	UD'	NE'	RP'
1.	LIKEABLE	--	LIKEABLE	--
2.	LIVELY	--	LIVELY	--
3.	--	--	GENEROUS	--
4.	INTELLIGENT	--	*INTELLIGENT	INTELLIGENT
5.	HONEST	--	HONEST	--
6.	FRIENDLY	*FRIENDLY	FRIENDLY	--
7.	--	*IN A SUB. POS.	--	IN AUTHORITY
8.	ARTICULATE	--	ARTICULATE	ARTICULATE
9.	CONFIDENT	--	*CONFIDENT	CONFIDENT
10.	*WELL OFF	--	--	WELL OFF
11.	WELL EDUCATED	--	--	WELL EDUCATED
12.	--	--	--	--

	HI'	KV'	CL'
1.	LIKEABLE	--	--
2.	--	--	--
3.	*GENEROUS	--	--
4.	--	--	--
5.	HONEST	--	--
6.	FRIENDLY	--	*FRIENDLY
7.	*IN A SUB. POS.	--	IN A SUB. POS.
8.	--	ARTICULATE	--
9.	--	--	--
10.	--	*WELL OFF	POORLY OFF
11.	*POORLY EDUCATED	--	--
12.	--	--	SUBMISSIVE

* indicates x or $y < 50$ but stereotype suggested by virtue of

Table 10.13b

Secondary Profiles (Section B(ii)): Non-stereotyped Responses to Speakers

	ES'	UD'	NE'	RP'
1.	--	(UNLIKEABLE)	--	UNLIKEABLE
2.	--	LIVELY	--	(DULL)
3.	GENEROUS	GENEROUS	--	(NOT GENEROUS)
4.	--	(UNINTELLIGENT)	--	--
5.	--	HONEST	--	HONEST
6.	--	--	--	(UNFRIENDLY)
7.	IN AUTHORITY	--	IN A SUB. POS.	--
8.	--	(INARTICULATE)	--	--
9.	--	CONFIDENT	--	--
10.	--	POORLY OFF	POORLY OFF	--
11.	--	POORLY EDUCATED	WELL EDUCATED	--
12.	DOMINATING	(DOMINATING)	(SUBMISSIVE)	DOMINATING

	HI'	KV'	CL'
1.	--	UNLIKEABLE	LIKEABLE
2.	LIVELY	(DULL)	DULL
3.	--	NOT GENEROUS	GENEROUS
4.	INTELLIGENT	INTELLIGENT	UNINTELLIGENT
5.	--	(HONEST)	HONEST
6.	--	UNFRIENDLY	--
7.	--	IN AUTHORITY	--
8.	ARTICULATE	--	--
9.	(CONFIDENT)	--	UNSURE
10.	POORLY OFF	CONFIDENT	--
11.	--	WELL EDUCATED	POORLY EDUCATED
12.	SUBMISSIVE	DOMINATING	--

A characteristic in brackets indicates that the majority is indecisive, x is not significantly different from y.

and also as (SUBMISSIVE) though indecisively. Both speakers were perceived very favourably on those characteristics which relate to personality of the speaker (variables B(ii).1,2,3,5,6,9), intelligence (4), articulacy (8), sharing stereotyped responses on all except GENEROUS (3), where the response to ES' was a non-stereotype. The teachers rated ES' more extensively favourably in terms of education and socio-economic status compared with NE', who was perceived negatively in these terms overall.

HI' received positive stereotyped responses in terms of personality having been perceived as LIKEABLE, GENEROUS, HONEST and FRIENDLY, but negative stereotyped responses in terms of status, *IN A SUB. POS. and education, *POORLY EDUCATED.

The secondary profile shows a similar pattern. HI' was rated positively overall as LIVELY, INTELLIGENT and ARTICULATE, but negatively as POORLY OFF and as SUBMISSIVE. HI' was not rated decisively as (CONFIDENT). HI' was perceived less favourably than ES' in terms of socio-economic status and less favourably than both ES' and NE' in terms of intelligence and articulacy. Generally, responses to HI' were equivocal.

RP' elicited positive stereotyped responses on the variables relating to socio-economic status, intelligence, articulacy and education, i.e. IN AUTHORITY, WELL OFF, INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE and WELL EDUCATED and also as CONFIDENT. The secondary profile presents a less favourable picture of RP' however. On only one personality

characteristic did the teachers rate RP' positively overall, HONEST. On three others the responses were negative overall and indecisive, (DULL), (NOT GENEROUS), (UNFRIENDLY). RP' was also judged negatively as UNLIKEABLE and DOMINATING.

Thus, while RP' was stereotyped in terms of status and general competence, characteristics the speaker shares with ES' - indeed, RP' was perceived more extensively as IN AUTHORITY than ES' - RP' did not match ES' at all in terms of a favourable personality rating. Generally, the perception of the speaker parallels that of the accent in the case of RP. Status and prestige were recognised, but otherwise the reaction was not favourable.

The informants rated KV' in terms of the same characteristics as RP'. However, there were differences in the levels of response. KV' elicited stereotyped responses on only two characteristics, ARTICULATE and *WELL OFF, both positive. The remaining responses appear in the secondary profile. There KV' is shown to be INTELLIGENT, IN AUTHORITY, WELL EDUCATED, characteristics shared with RP' but here non-stereotypes. KV' was rated overall also as UNLIKEABLE, NOT GENEROUS, UNFRIENDLY and DOMINATING. The responses (DULL) and (HONEST) are indecisive.

KV' seems to have been perceived as a pseudo-RP', the speaker seeking to emulate Received Pronunciation. However, stereotyped reactions are shared with respect to only two characteristics, *WELL OFF and ARTICULATE. That is, KV' is particularly characterised in these terms. Otherwise, KV' was rated less extensively than RP' in terms of intelligence, authority, confidence and education.

KV' was not perceived differently from RP' in terms of personality where both speakers were judged negatively or not favourably. Indeed, in terms of the tests of comparison the two speakers showed no significant differences in rating on these variables.

UD' was stereotyped on only two characteristics, *FRIENDLY and *IN A SUB. POS. This compares with seven stereotyped characteristics as an accent. Most of the responses to UD' are found in the secondary profile. This reveals an indecisive overall response on four characteristics, (UNLIKEABLE), (UNINTELLIGENT), (INARTICULATE), (DOMINATING) so that the teachers were evidently unable to agree in rating the speaker in these terms. Otherwise the perceptions of UD' were positive overall in terms of personality, LIVELY, GENEROUS, HONEST and CONFIDENT but negative in terms of economic status, POORLY OFF, and education, POORLY EDUCATED.

Reactions to UD', the speaker, were not particularly negative in general. Indeed, in certain respects they were quite favourable. The teachers judged UD' in terms of personality much more positively than they did KV' and RP'. This contrasts with the series of negative stereotypes elicited by UD, the accent.

CL' elicited stereotyped reactions in terms of personality, positively as *FRIENDLY, negatively as SUBMISSIVE. In terms of socio-economic status CL' was stereotyped unfavourably as IN A SUB. POS. and POORLY OFF.

The secondary profile shows a mixed response in terms of personality. The teachers judged CL' positively as

LIKEABLE, GENEROUS and HONEST but also negatively as DULL and UNSURE. On the other characteristics they also saw the speaker as UNINTELLIGENT, INARTICULATE and POORLY EDUCATED. It is possible that the slow, deliberate delivery of the speaker contributed to these negative responses. However, the presence in the test of this speaker is not invalidated thereby. It is conceivable that a teacher could meet with pupils who have such a speech pattern and so the responses to it are still of interest. It is possible that a regionally/socially marked accent combined with a slow speech tempo may result in a negative perception of the speaker in terms of such traits as intelligence, articulacy, educational status, confidence.

Given the prestige which RP is supposed to have it might have been expected that it would elicit an all-round favourable response both as accent and as speaker. In certain respects this prestige is reflected: its speaker found favour in terms of socio-economic status, intelligence and articulacy. However, with slight difference these are shared with ES'. Where RP' was perceived unfavourably or indeterminately was in terms of those variables relating to personality. In contrast, ES' was perceived favourably (stereotyped, in fact) in terms of most personal traits. That is, status evidently does not preclude a positive reaction on personal terms.

This perception of RP speakers has been found elsewhere. In a study using the Matched Guise Technique, Cheyne (1970) found that English voices were rated higher than Scottish ones on scales concerned with status by both

Scottish and English informants but that Scottish informants rated Scottish voices higher on scales concerned with personality, so that the nationality of the informant was an important factor. Also, a test carried out by Mackinnon (1977) revealed that among senior pupils in a Harris secondary school more rated the RP speaker positively in terms of status and more rated the speaker negatively on personal traits. Our results would seem to support this finding that in Scotland speakers with English, particularly, RP accents are not highly regarded in personal terms.

Perception of an accent or speaker involves drawing upon beliefs about the communities to which speakers are identified as belonging on the basis of their speech. Thus, we may believe that RP speakers, who are presumed to belong to the social élite, are well off financially, occupy a position of authority, are well educated and also seem to be intelligent, confident and articulate. Similarly, judging a UD speaker as poorly off financially, occupying a subordinate position and poorly educated, mirrors beliefs about the speaker's community. However, such beliefs may have some basis in reality. They are stereotypes founded on received knowledge of our society, if not by any means invariable, which experience may confirm more often than not. Of course, contrasting an RP speaker with a UD speaker is a fairly clear cut case about which informants probably feel confident when making judgements in a test situation. Other accents and speakers may reveal no agreed overall response where the placing of them in the socio-economic scheme of things is not so apparent, NE' for example.

However, when it comes to making judgements about a speaker in terms of personality or accent in terms of aesthetic descriptions based on speech alone these cannot involve direct reference to any objective facts. Such judgements involve beliefs about a speech community indirectly as a general expression of favour or disfavour towards it. We suggest that the informants here responded in a more subjective and affective manner to the accents and speakers in terms of personal and aesthetic characteristics. With respect to the status of the accents and speakers there was involved a more objective and cognitive response.

It may be asked why RP and its speaker were not favoured despite recognition of status and prestige and why ES and its speaker were so well favoured in all respects almost? What has motivated particular responses? We can only speculate.

One factor in the unfavourable response to RP may lie in the fact of its being English and Un-Scottish (see Section A(i),(ii), and cf. Cheyne, 1970) as distinct from all the other accents. It may be that there is a measure of antipathy towards RP in Scotland, for historical reasons as representing the dominance of a non-native culture and social group. Educated Scots speech was identified as Scottish, though largely as fairly so. The responses to ES and its speaker suggest that ES is the favoured prestige form of speech in Scotland among the teachers.

Regional forms of speech, marked RURAL, are quite well favoured overall, the representative of North East Scots particularly so, as both speech and speaker, indic-

ating a very positive perception of the speech community other than in status and prestige. There is a reflection here perhaps of the "homely, natural and pithy" image noted already in connection with rural, North East speech in the historical account. The responses to Highland English reflect this also in some measure.

The traditional disfavour towards Urban Demotic speech suggests a reflection of the negative image of some aspects of West of Scotland urban society: environmental decay, industrial decline, poor housing etc. What is interesting here is that it is the speech which bears the brunt of the condemnation here and not the speaker. (What would the reaction have been if the test had comprised descriptive variables relating to speaker only?)

The reaction to the Morning-/Kelvinside accent suggests a perception of it as a failed attempt to imitate RP, an unacceptable kind of "social climbing", with a consequent condemnation of it and its speaker.

The particular problem of CL has already been discussed.

An interesting feature of the test was the higher number of NO RETURNS on average in Section B(ii) relating to speaker than B(i) relating to speech. Speech variables averaged 6.7 NO RETURNS per accent per variable, speaker variables an average of 12.7. The reason for this may be a greater reluctance or inhibition to make a judgement about a person, even in a fairly impersonal setting, as opposed to speech, a more abstract notion. The structure of the test with the limited options available may have contributed to this.

As a further refinement to the analysis it was decided to determine whether there were any differences in response to the accents and speakers in terms of SEX and AGE of the respondents.¹

SEX:

The results for each variable for Section B were crosstabulated to give a breakdown of the results in terms of male and female teachers. χ^2 or Fisher's Exact Test were used to determine if there were any significant differences in the overall responses to each accent and speaker in terms of each variable. Not one of the results was significant. Thus, we must conclude that for this group there are no grounds for believing that there were any significant differences in the way male and female teachers responded to each of the accents and speakers on the given variables.

It should be noted that because of the large number of tests run there exists a probability of error in some cases but this is irrecoverable.

AGE:

The same tests were run in analysing the responses according to the age band of the teachers. Because of the high proportion of teachers in the 20-29 band the teachers were categorised into two more equal groupings for comparison: those in the 20-29 age band, which we will call the 'younger' or Y-group; those in the other three age bands combined i.e. 30-59, we will call the 'older' or O-group.

	Y(ounger)	O(llder)	
Male	8	21	: 29
Female	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>	: <u>34</u>
	28	35	63

The Y-group comprises 28, 20 females and 8 males and is obviously very unbalanced with respect to SEX. The O-group contains 35 made up of 21 males and 14 females, also unbalanced, but rather less so than the Y-group. However, since the sex of the respondent does not appear to be a significant factor the imbalances will be set aside.

When the tests were run one or two results were found to be significant.

(1) ES

	Y	O	
NATURAL	26	27	53
AFFECTED	0	7	7
	<u>26</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>60</u>

A small number in the O-group rated ES as AFFECTED, none of the Y-group having done so. This is not a vast difference but it was sufficient to produce a significant result.

Most of the significant results occurred with RP

(2) RP

	Y	O	
ATTRACTIVE	4	17	: 21
UNATTRACTIVE	20	13	: 33
	<u>24</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>54</u>

Here there seems to have been a substantial disagreement between the Y and O groups. A considerable majority of the Y-group, 20, perceived RP as UNATTRACTIVE as against only 4 who rated it as ATTRACTIVE, while a small majority of the O-group, 17, thought that it was ATTRACTIVE, 13 believing RP to be UNATTRACTIVE. There was no real overall agreement in the O-group.

(3) RP

	Y	O	
ACCEPTABLE	14	28	: 42
NOT ACCEPTABLE	12	5	: 17
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	26	33	59

The Y-group were evenly divided over whether RP was ACCEPTABLE, 14, or NOT ACCEPTABLE, 12. The majority of the O-group, on the other hand, quite clearly decided that RP was ACCEPTABLE i.e. 28, while only 5 thought that it was NOT ACCEPTABLE.

(4) RP

	Y	O	
MONOTONOUS	21	15	: 36
TUNEFUL	4	13	: 17
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	25	28	53

Here the O-group were evenly divided about whether they perceived RP as MONOTONOUS, 15, or TUNEFUL, 13, 21 of the Y-group decided that RP was MONOTONOUS but only 4 thought that it was TUNEFUL.

(5) RP'

	Y	O	
LIKEABLE	3	15	: 18
UNLIKEABLE	20	14	: 34
	<hr/> 23	<hr/> 29	<hr/> 52

Once more the O-group were evenly split. 15 rated the speaker RP' as LIKEABLE and 14 as UNLIKEABLE. The Y-group quite clearly perceived RP' as UNLIKEABLE, 20 doing so, with only 3 rating the speaker as LIKEABLE.

(6) RP'

	Y	O	
LIVELY	5	17	: 22
DULL	19	11	: 30
	<hr/> 24	<hr/> 28	<hr/> 52

A majority of the O-group, 17, rated RP' as LIVELY, although a sizeable minority, 11, did perceive the speaker as DULL. Of the Y-group a considerable majority, 19, thought that the speaker was DULL with only 5 perceiving RP' as LIVELY.

(7) KV

	Y	O	
COULD BE IMPROVED	20	31	: 51
COULD NOT BE IMPROVED	6	0	: 6
	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 31	<hr/> 57

None of the O-group thought that accent KV COULD NOT BE IMPROVED, all 31 who responded believing it COULD BE

IMPROVED. 6 of the Y-group did believe that this accent COULD NOT BE IMPROVED, although most again, 20, thought that it COULD BE IMPROVED. The difference between the Y and O groups is not substantial here.

(8) HI'

	Y	O	
CONFIDENT	9	20	: 29
UNSURE	11	5	: 16
	<hr/> 20	<hr/> 25	<hr/> 45

The Y-group were fairly evenly divided: 9 thought that speaker HI' was CONFIDENT, 11 that HI' was UNSURE. The majority of the O-group, however, 20, perceived HI' as CONFIDENT, only 5 having judged the speaker to be UNSURE.

We cannot say that there was a large difference between the responses of the younger and the older teachers in the vast majority of cases. The main disagreements seem to have been in relation to RP. It seems that the younger teachers did not tend to favour RP and its speaker compared with the older teachers in terms of aesthetic characteristics, ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE, MONOTONOUS/TUNEFUL and personality traits, LIKEABLE/UNLIKEABLE, LIVELY/DULL. Also, RP was widely ACCEPTABLE among the older teachers compared with the younger ones. This may indicate that RP has less of a cachet among the younger teachers than the older ones, although even the latter were divided in their responses.

Once more there is a probability of error given the

number of tests carried out. However, the fact that most of the significant results occurred with RP suggests that there is something meaningful here since, if the significant results were spurious, we would expect them to be more widely distributed.

The fact that there were no significant differences with respect to sex and few with respect to age is interesting. Whether this would be the case with a more heterogeneous sample of non-teachers would be worth investigating. The fact of being teachers with similar educational backgrounds and socio-economic status may have overridden other differences including sex, and to some extent, age.

What Part I of the test has revealed is the extent within a group of Scottish teachers to which different accents and speakers are perceived on a set of given descriptive parameters. It is not a measure of how ATTRACTIVE or LIKEABLE an accent or speaker is but of how widely they are perceived in such terms across a group.

The teachers were evidently willing to make judgements within the simple parameters offered in the test. In so doing they revealed a variety of prejudices and preferences for the most part along traditional lines also reflecting some of the attitudes the historical account of Scots speech in education might have led us to expect. The teachers seem to be good representatives of their education system and culture.

Of course, what the test does not reveal is how these

prejudices and preferences influence the teachers' behaviour in the classroom. How tolerant are teachers in the way they react to the speech of their pupils? It will require a carefully thought out observational study to determine this.

CHAPTER 11 : ATTITUDE TEST (5) :
THE RESULTS, II - LEXIS AND GRAMMAR

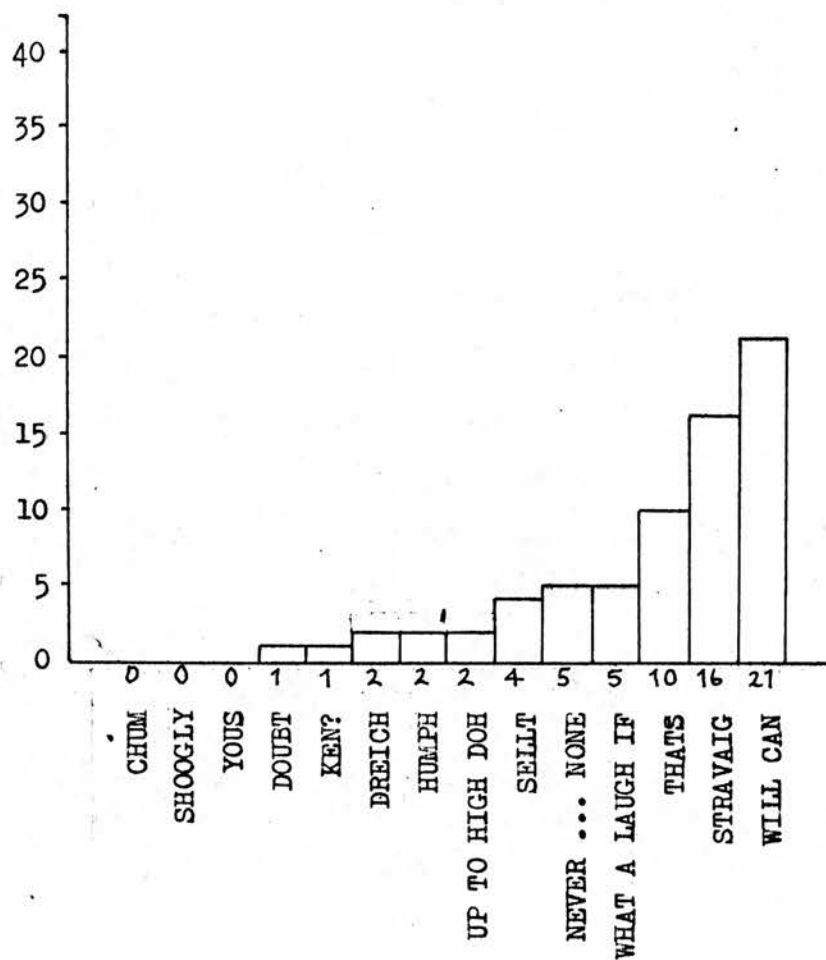
The purpose and structure of Part II of the test has been described already above (pp 130f). This part of the test comprised a separate booklet with one page for each of the lexical and grammatical items for which information was sought. On completion of Part I a booklet was given to each of the teachers to be taken away and answered in their own time. They were given also a stamped addressed envelope and asked to post the booklet back to the researcher as soon as possible. This was not the most satisfactory way of proceeding since there could be no control over this part of the test, the teachers being trusted to do it on their own, and also it was quite possible that not all the booklets would be returned. However, it was decided that this was the better course logistically in terms of avoiding further disruption of the teachers' time. In any case arranging another session for each school would have been difficult since the summer vacation was very near.

In the event 42 booklets were returned, being exactly two-thirds of the original sample of 63. Table 11.0 shows the structure of this sub-group in terms of sex and age:

Table 11.0

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	
Male	4	7	6	4	21
Female	11	6	1	3	21
	15	13	7	7	42

Figure 11.0



Number of cases where items were marked NOT KNOWN/
NOT UNDERSTOOD

The group is exactly balanced for sex but not for age particularly in the 20-29 band, although this was also the case in the original sample of 63.

Informants were instructed that if they did not know or did not understand an item they should indicate this by using the means provided, ignore that item and move on to the next one, since it was decided that information provided in such a case would be dubious and so strictly invalid. Any information actually provided in such cases has been excluded from the analysis.

This procedure does offer an indication of how well known the items were among the group of teachers. Figure 11.0 shows the number of informants who marked each item as not known/not understood. WILL CAN, STRAVAIG and THATS were the items least well known to the informants, while CHUM, SHOGLY and YOUS were known to all. The remaining items were generally known and understood, the highest number of not known/understood responses among these being 5 or 12% for NEVER ... NONE and WHAT A LAUGH IF.

However, this does mean that we have a different, though constant, maximum number of potential responses for each item, being 42 less the number of not known/understood responses in each case:

42	CHUM, SHOGLY, YOUS
41	DOUBT, KEN?
40	DREICH, HUMPH, UP TO HIGH DOH
38	SELLT
37	NEVER ... NONE, WHAT A LAUGH IF
32	THATS

26 STRAVAIG

21 WILL CAN

In the tables giving the results these figures are shown in brackets following the items, and, in order to compare results the percentage ratios for each item will be based on these figures.

It will also be useful to consider the items in terms of their form and structure, and the following labels will be used:

L - lexical Scotticism G - grammatical form

A - anglomorph I - idiomatic phrase

We propose the term "anglomorph" to indicate (a) an item which is made up of constituents which are Standard English in form but which, in combination, are Scots in provenance and usage or (b) a single lexical item which is Standard English in form but which has a distinctive Scots sense or usage. The items can be classified thus:

L - STRAVAIG, HUMPH, DREICH, SHOOGLY

LG - KEN?

G - WILL CAN, SELT, NEVER ... NONE, THATS, YOUS

AL - DOUBT, CHUM

AI - UP TO HIGH DOH, WHAT A LAUGH IF

The Results

Question (1): Is this expression:

- (a) Acceptable in the classroom
- (b) Acceptable in everyday speech
- (c) Acceptable nowhere

Tables 11.1 and Figure 11.1.1 present the results for question (1).

Table 11.1

ACCEPTABLE

Item and potential number of responses	(a) "classroom"	(b) "everyday speech"	(a) & (b) "both"	(c) "nowhere"
DOUBT (42)	6	14	17	4
THATS (32)	1	4	0	27
DREICH (40)	9	12	18	0
SHOOGLY (42)	6	16	20	0
STRAVAIG (26)	5	12	8	0
KEN? (41)	3	20	4	14
NEVER/NONE (37)	0	0	1	33
SELLT (38)	2	11	2	22
YOUS (42)	1	4	1	34
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	6	19	15	0
HUMPH (40)	5	21	12	1
CHUM (42)	6	15	17	3
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	5	14	14	3
WILL CAN (21)	0	10	0	9

In this question it was intended that only one statement should be selected from the list (a), (b) or (c), but in a number of cases both (a) and (b) were selected. To handle this the responses to this question will be dealt with in two stages. Firstly, those who responded (a) only, (b) only or both (a) and (b) (i.e. those responses which indicated that an item was acceptable (a) "in the classroom" or (b) "in everyday speech" or both (a) and (b), in both these situations) will be combined as acceptable SOMEWHERE and contrasted with those responses indicating that an item was (c) acceptable NOWHERE. Secondly, those who indicated that the items were acceptable (a) "in the classroom" will be contrasted with those who did not.

Table 11.1.1 provides a breakdown of the responses in terms of those indicating an item was acceptable SOMEWHERE (i.e. the sum of columns 1-3 in table 11.1) and those indicating an item was (c) acceptable NOWHERE. Figure 11.1.1a plots the results in terms of raw figures while figure 11.1.1b is a modified graph plotting the results in terms of the percentage ratios of the potential responses for each item which is 42 less the number of items not known. This allows a clearer view of the results for comparison.

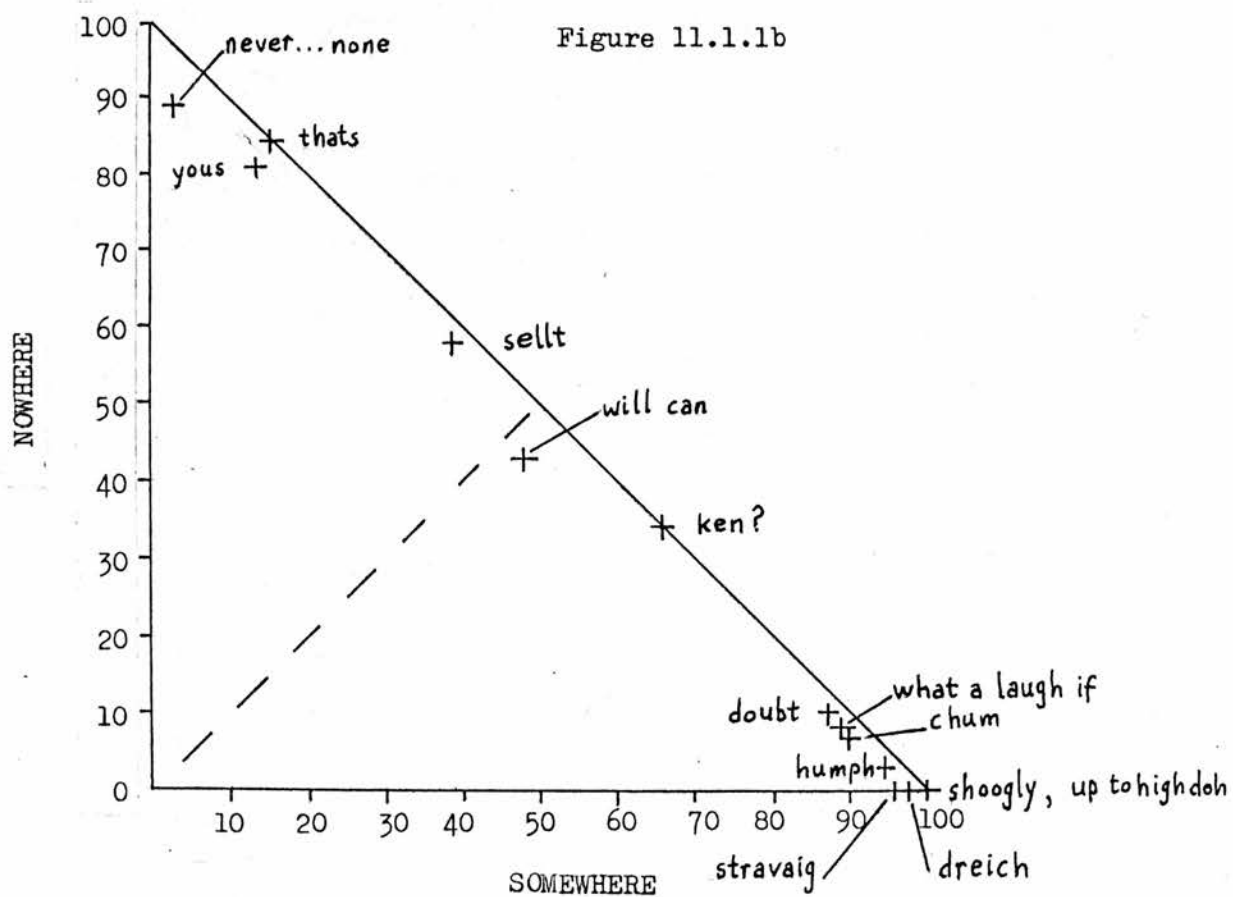
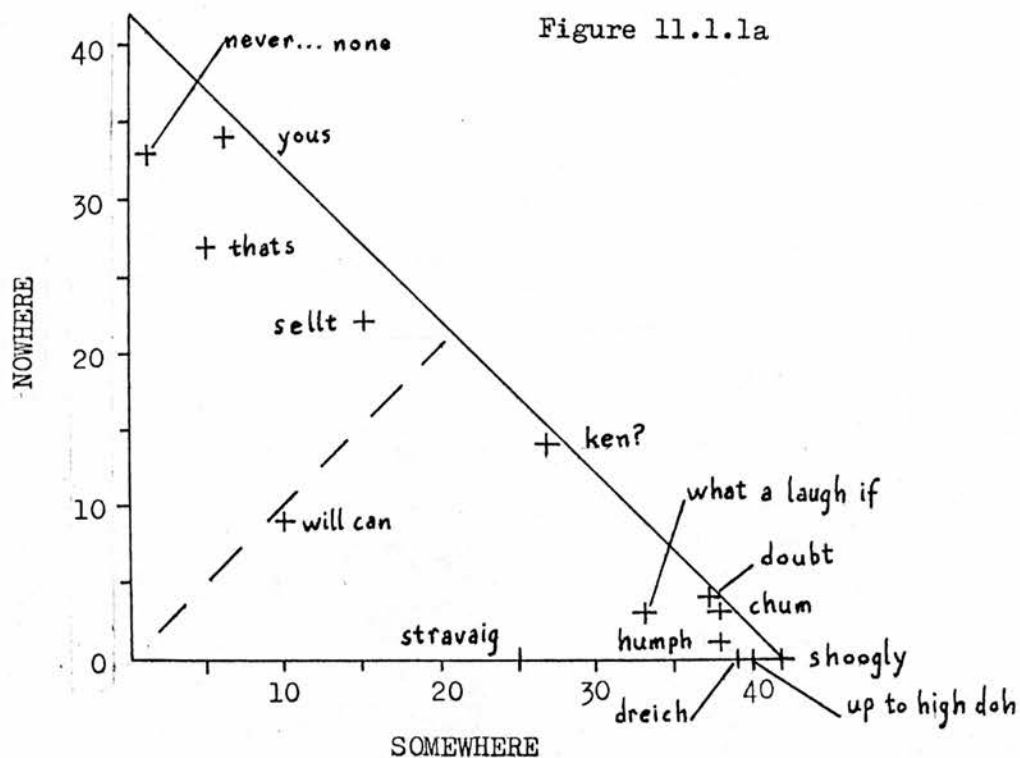
Because of the complex nature of the data a statistical analysis is not feasible and results must therefore be interpreted impressionistically.

It can be seen that a majority of the items were considered overall to be acceptable SOMEWHERE. Those which were clearly perceived as acceptable NOWHERE were

Table 11.1.1

ACCEPTABLE

	"somewhere" (a),(b),(a)&(b)		"nowhere" (c)	
	n	%	n	%
DOUBT (42)	37	88	4	10
THATS (32)	5	16	27	84
DREICH (40)	39	98	0	0
SHOGLY (42)	42	100	0	0
STRAVAIG (26)	25	96	0	0
KEN? (41)	27	66	14	34
NEVER/NONE (37)	1	3	33	89
SELLT (38)	15	39	22	58
YOUS (42)	6	14	34	81
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	40	100	0	0
HUMPH (40)	38	95	1	3
CHUM (42)	38	90	3	7
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	33	89	3	8
WILL CAN (21)	10	48	9	43



the example of multiple negation, NEVER ... NONE, the possessive relative pronoun THATS and the plural form of the second person pronoun YOUS. The numbers rating these items as acceptable SOMEWHERE were small. The reaction to these items was unequivocally negative. This is more clearly seen in Figure 11.1.1b where comparison is in terms of proportion of potential responses.

Of those items which were perceived overall as acceptable SOMEWHERE all the informants found SHOOGLY to be so. DREICH, UP TO HIGH DOH and STRAVAIG were also judged as acceptable SOMEWHERE by large proportions. None regarded any of these items as acceptable NOWHERE.

HUMPH, CHUM and DOUBT were also viewed by most of the informants as acceptable SOMEWHERE.

The tag question KEN? was reckoned by 66% to be acceptable SOMEWHERE but there was rather less agreement among the informants here.

Of the remaining two items, the weak preterite SELLT and the double auxiliary construction WILL CAN there was not any real overall agreement at all among the teachers.

The next stage of the analysis is to look at those results indicating where the items were acceptable SOMEWHERE and to see how these are broken down in terms of (a) "in the classroom" only plus (a) combined with (b) "in everyday speech" comparing these with the (b) only responses and also the (c) responses. That is, we are comparing those responses where an item was marked acceptable "in the classroom" with those where it was not. In terms of table 11.1 this is the sum of columns (1) and (3) against columns (2) and (4).

Table 11.1.2 and Figure 11.1.2 show how the responses are broken down in this way. The item found by most to be acceptable IN THE CLASSROOM was DREICH by two-thirds of the potential responses. Also 50% and above thought that SHOGLY, DOUBT, CHUM and WHAT A LAUGH IF and STRAVAIG were acceptable IN THE CLASSROOM, while HUMPH was considered to be acceptable in this situation by only 43%.

Nevertheless, the acceptability of most of these items IN THE CLASSROOM was not very high. Only DREICH and perhaps SHOGLY received substantial support here. The results for DOUBT, CHUM, UP TO HIGH DOH, WHAT A LAUGH IF, STRAVAIG and HUMPH revealed the teachers to be fairly evenly divided. Even so, this does indicate that about half of them in responding to each of these items had a positive attitude to them in relation to the classroom so that presumably they would not object, in principle, to pupils using these items there.

While a majority, 66%, rated KEN? acceptable SOMEWHERE, only 17% marked it as acceptable IN THE CLASSROOM, so that it was much less acceptable in this situation among the teachers than "in everyday speech".

Of the remaining items SELT, THATS, YOUS, NEVER ... NONE and WILL CAN the highest number rating any of these as acceptable IN THE CLASSROOM was 4 (11) for SELT. Although 10 (48) perceived WILL CAN to be acceptable SOMEWHERE, none at all thought that it was acceptable IN THE CLASSROOM.

Summarising the results for question (1), it is evident that the items most teachers found generally acceptable

Table 11.1.2

	Marked Acceptable "in the Classroom"		Not Marked Acceptable "in the Classroom"	
	(a),(a)&(b)		(b)	
	n	%	n	%
DOUBT (42)	23	55	14	33
THATS (32)	1	3	4	13
DREICH (40)	27	68	12	30
SHOGLY (42)	26	62	16	38
STRAVAIG (26)	13	50	12	46
KEN? (41)	7	17	20	49
NEVER/NONE (37)	1	3	0	0
SELLT (38)	4	11	11	29
YOUS (42)	2	5	4	10
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	21	51	19	48
HUMPH (40)	17	43	21	53
CHUM (42)	23	55	15	36
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	19	51	14	38
WILL CAN (21)	0	0	10	48

Figure 11.1.1.2a

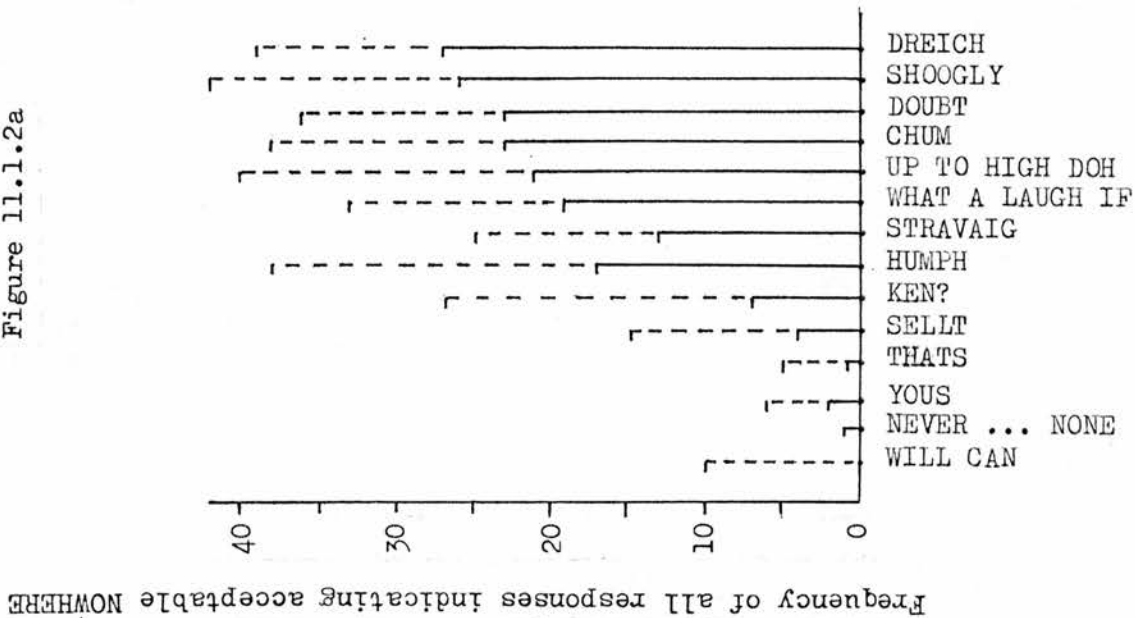
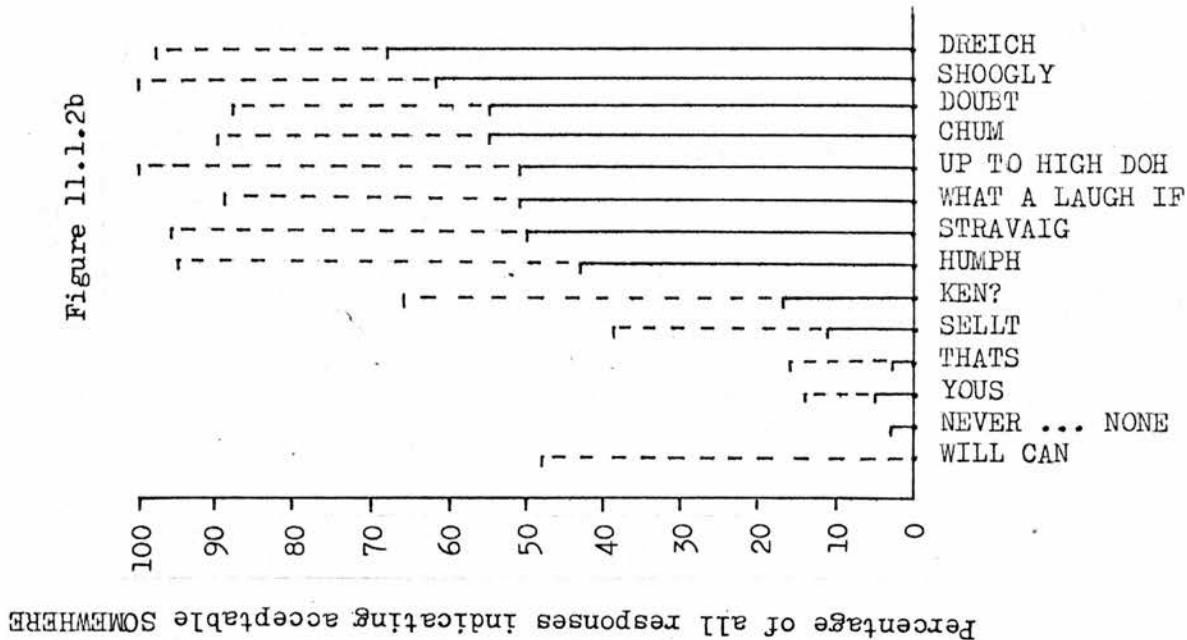


Figure 11.1.1.2b



(b) only
not marked acceptable
IN THE CLASSROOM

(a), (a)&(b)
marked acceptable
IN THE CLASSROOM

were: (1) the lexical Scots forms, DREICH, SHOOGLY, STRA-VAIG and HUMPH and also to some extent KEN?; and (2) the anglomorphs, (AI) forms WHAT A LAUGH IF and UP TO HIGH DOH and (AL) forms DOUBT and CHUM. With the exception of KEN? all these items were acceptable, not only generally but also to a significant extent in the formal context of the classroom.

Clearly not acceptable were the grammatical forms NEVER ... NONE, THATS, YOUS. It is quite possible that these forms were judged to be a "breach" of the grammatical rules of Standard English. Furthermore, they are generally associated with Urban speech and the teachers may have been expressing an attitude to this, perceiving these items as "Bad" Scots or English.

The teachers' responses to SELLT and WILL CAN were more divided though it is clear that neither of these were considered to be acceptable IN THE CLASSROOM. This may reflect a division of how these items were interpreted: either as grammatical deviations from Standard English or as general Scots. That is, some may have thought they were "Good" Scots, others "Bad" Scots or ^{"Bad"}English. This could also have been the case to some extent with KEN?

In assessing these results we will take into account the set of hypotheses about the markedness of each item which was proposed following Aitken (1979). (See pp. 116-17 above) At this stage we are concerned with whether the items were perceived positively or negatively by the teachers. It may be reasonably assumed that those items perceived extensively as acceptable NOWHERE are marked negatively

for the informants, those perceived overall as acceptable SOMEWHERE are either unmarked or marked positively.

In terms of the proposed hypotheses NEVER ... NONE, SELLT, KEN? and YOUS are unmarked for working class speakers but marked negatively for middle-class speakers. Where do the teachers fit into this? We might believe that teachers in the main behave as middle class speakers not only because many will have come from such a background, for some will almost certainly have come from a working-class background, but also because their education and training, as indicated by the historical evidence, will, in most cases, have given them a linguistically anglo-centric perspective, at least professionally, which we equate with the linguistic behaviour of middle-class speakers. In Macaulay's study of Glasgow speech there is association of middle-class speech with that of the school in the minds of many of the teachers he interviewed:

" ... more than half the teachers saw the situation as being the difference between middle-class and working-class speech. Several teachers suggested that the school was one where a model of Standard English was provided."

(Macaulay, 1977 : 95)

This model is provided by the teachers, of course. Strictly the results of the questionnaire in this present study tell us only about our sample of teachers and we can safely take our conclusions no further than that, but if we believe that on the whole teachers behave like middle-class speakers then it is possible to interpret the results as offering some support or otherwise to the hypotheses

about class and linguistic form. How the teachers perceived the items in terms of class is discussed in question (4) below.

The results for question (1) suggested that the proposed hypotheses with respect to positive and negative marking are not supported in every case.

NEVER ... NONE and YOUS were negatively marked for the teachers which would support the prediction about these items, however SELLT was perceived less extensively as negative than might have been expected, while KEN? found overall acceptability being marked negatively for only a minority generally. Only within the context of the classroom did all these items find little or no acceptability, so that for that situation the prediction is supported.

The lexical Scotticisms, it was suggested, were marked for middle-class speakers. If they are marked for these informants it is evidently positively since they found extensive acceptability. Only within the classroom situation did they elicit a low level of acceptability although DREICH and SHOGLY were acceptable to majorities in this situation.

Those items whose markedness was thought to be uncertain, CHUM, WHAT A LAUGH IF, UP TO HIGH DOH, were, in fact, widely acceptable.

There was no overall determinate response to WILL CAN except in the context of the classroom where no-one thought it acceptable, so that in the more informal context of everyday speech its markedness is uncertain but in the

formal classroom situation it is negatively marked.

It was thought that DOUBT and THATS would be unmarked, used unconsciously by middle-class speakers. The result for DOUBT would support this, however, for the teachers here, THATS was evidently negatively marked.

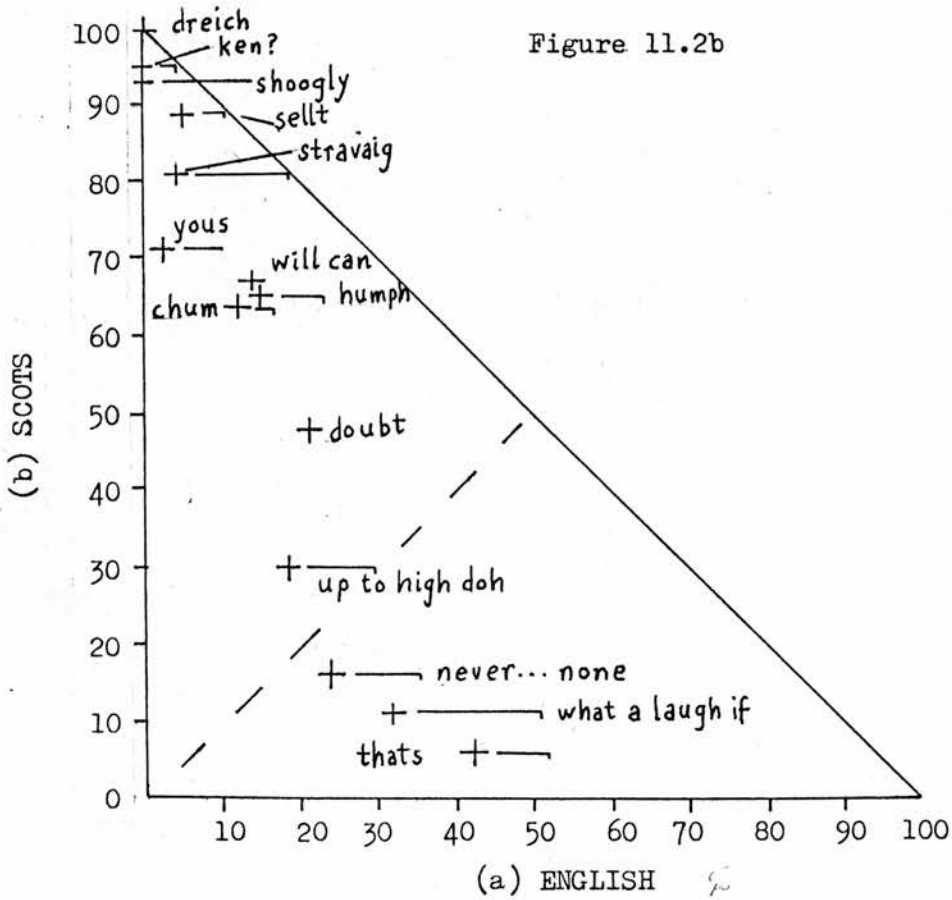
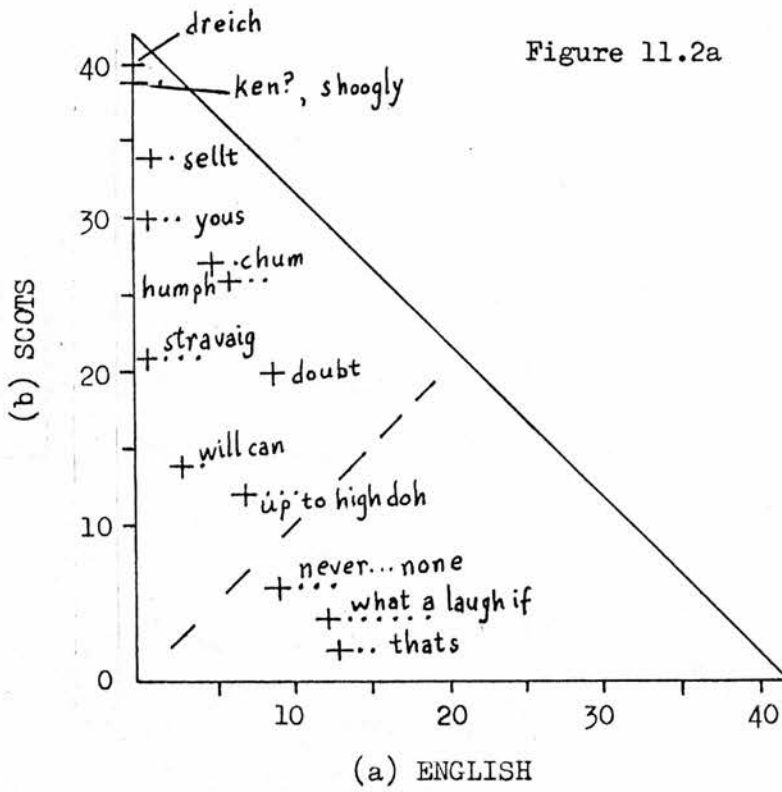
Thus, while some hypotheses have been lent partial support by the results of this question some have not. The hypotheses will be considered further in terms of question (4).

Question (2) asked the teachers to identify the items in terms of whether they thought them to be (a) ENGLISH or (b) SCOTS. A third option, (c) DON'T KNOW was also offered. Table 11.2 and Figures 11.2a and 11.2b give the results. The picture is slightly complicated by the marking of some items as both (a) ENGLISH and (b) SCOTS, but this information has been incorporated in the table 11.2 and in fig. 11.2a (being the to the right of some of the plots). There were also one or two abstentions but for convenience they have been combined with the (c) responses since we have assumed they mean the same thing. In column (4) of table 11.2 the number of marks show the number of abstentions as opposed to (c) responses contained in the number.

DREICH, KEN?, SHOGLY and STRAVAIG were each perceived clearly as (b) SCOTS overall. None perceived DREICH, KEN? or SHOGLY as (a) ENGLISH, while only one thought that KEN? was both (a) and (b). One also believed STRAVAIG to be (a) ENGLISH. That is, those who knew this item

Table 11.2

	(a)		(b)		(a)&(b)		(c)	
	English		Scots		Both		Don't Know	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
DOUBT (42)	9	21	20	48	0	0	13'	31
THATS (32)	13	41	2	6	2	6	15''	47
DREICH (40)	0	0	40	100	0	0	0	0
SHOOGLY (42)	0	0	39	93	0	0	3	7
STRAVAIG (26)	1	4	21	81	3	12	1'	4
KEN? (41)	0	0	39	95	1	2	1	2
NEVER/NONE (37)	9	24	6	16	3	8	19'''	51
SELLT (38)	2	5	34	89	1	3	1	3
YOUS (42)	1	2	30	71	2	5	9''	21
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	7	18	12	30	3	8	18'	45
HUMPH (40)	6	15	26	65	2	5	6	15
CHUM (42)	5	12	27	64	1	2	9'	21
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	12	32	4	11	6	16	15'	41
WILL CAN (21)	3	14	14	67	1	5	3	14



regarded it overwhelmingly as SCOTS as can be seen more clearly in the modified graph (Fig. 11.2b).

YOUS, CHUM, HUMPH and WILL CAN were also marked quite clearly as SCOTS overall. While one only thought that YOUS was (a) ENGLISH, a few informants marked CHUM, HUMPH and WILL CAN so. Perhaps, there was a little more uncertainty about these four items in classifying them.

The results for the remaining items were much less clear cut. DOUBT was thought by 48% to be (b) SCOTS but by 21% to be (a) ENGLISH, so that there was some disagreement. Also 29% claimed (c), that they did not know. There are proportionately large numbers of (c) responses and both (a) and (b) responses for the other items. As can be seen from the graphs the numbers rating UP TO HIGH DOH, NEVER ... NONE, WHAT A LAUGH IF and THATS as (a) or (b) are rather low, the plots being scattered round the divider and close to the origin.

UP TO HIGH DOH was rated by a majority as (b) SCOTS but only by 30% while 18% thought that it was (a) ENGLISH, and 45% gave a response of (c) DON'T KNOW (which includes one abstention) and a small number also marked it as both (a) and (b). That is, while UP TO HIGH DOH was recognised and known to all but three informants over a third of these were unable to say whether it was SCOTS or ENGLISH, and there was no agreement among the remainder who did respond one or the other.

NEVER ...NONE, WHAT A LAUGH IF and THATS reveal majorities in favour of (a) ENGLISH although the result for NEVER ...NONE was very indecisive. However, the

largest proportion in each case responded (c) or abstained, so that the majority were unable to say whether these items are SCOTS and ENGLISH in effect.

There are, then, two general overall responses to the items: (i) where the provenance was determined as (a) SCOTS by the clear majority of responses; (ii) where the provenance was indeterminate overall to the respondents with (a) and (b) responses fairly evenly divided and a high proportion of (c) DON'T KNOW responses.

(i) SCOTS

DREICH (L)
KEN? (L)
SHOGLY (L)
STRAVAIG (L)
YOUS (G)
CHUM (AL)
HUMPH (L)

(ii) INDETERMINATE

DOUBT (AL)
UP TO HIGH DOH (AI)
NEVER ... NONE (G)
WHAT A LAUGH IF (AI)
THATS (G)

The informants had no difficulty on the whole marking the lexical Scotticisms as (b) SCOTS. There was a small measure of disagreement about YOUS, WILL CAN, HUMPH and CHUM, perhaps, but for the most part these were thought to be Scots. The problem seems to have arisen with those items which may be considered English in form, the anglo-morphs: the idioms UP TO HIGH DOH and WHAT A LAUGH IF, the double negative NEVER ...NONE and the possessive relative THATS, where the overall results are indeterminate. It might have been expected that more would have perceived some of these items as (b) ENGLISH rather than (c) DON'T KNOW. This suggests an awareness that items which are English in form may be Scots in provenance even if the informants are unable to say so for certain in a given case.

Some items were marked as both (a) ENGLISH and (b)

SCOTS by a few informants, the largest number being 6 (16) for WHAT A LAUGH IF. The question arises of what this means. We may hazard the following interpretations. What it means will depend on the informants' understanding of "Scots" as applied to language. It may mean that an informant perceives the item as used by both Scottish and English speakers as part of their English speech, that is as general English (i.e. in terms of Aitken's model belonging to column (3)) and not "Scots" like, say, DREICH and KEN? (i.e. not belonging to columns (1) and (2)); or it may, in fact be a perception that the item is English in form but is used as part of Scots speech, that is, a Scotsman's use of English words.

Question (3) was conditional on the response made to question (2):

3(i) If it is 2a, English, is it:

- (a) Standard
- (b) Non-standard
- (c) Don't know

3(ii) If it is 2b, Scots, would you be more likely to hear it:

- (a) In the country
- (b) In the town
- (c) In both country and town
- (d) Don't know

It was intended that only if an informant responded to an item as 2a ENGLISH should he respond to 3(i) and on that alone, and similarly only if he responded as 2b SCOTS

should he respond to 3(ii), and again on that alone. The results are complicated, however, by instances where this pattern was not strictly followed. These questions did not work well and the results are not very informative.

Table 11.3.1a shows how responses to items as 2a ENGLISH were perceived in terms of STANDARD and NON-STANDARD. Since none of the items was perceived to be ENGLISH to any extent the numbers here are correspondingly low. It can be seen that the items marked ENGLISH were also perceived as NON-STANDARD for the most part. Only 2 in each case thought that UP TO HIGH DOH and WHAT A LAUGH IF, and 1 in each case DOUBT and STRAVAIG were STANDARD.

In Table 11.3.1b all the responses to question 3(i) are presented. The perception of the items as NON-STANDARD is confirmed. UP TO HIGH DOH and WHAT A LAUGH IF were again perceived as STANDARD by some, although more did perceive these as NON-STANDARD. The largest numbers perceived THAT'S, NEVER ...NONE and WHAT A LAUGH IF as NON-STANDARD.

Table 11.3.2a shows how responses to items as 2b SCOTS were rated in terms of whether the teachers thought the items were largely restricted to the COUNTRY, the TOWN or were more general, BOTH.

There seems to have been agreement that DOUBT, DREICH, SHOOGLY, KEN?, SELLT, UP TO HIGH DOH and HUMPH were thought to have a general provenance, most marking these as heard (c) IN BOTH COUNTRY AND TOWN. However, 10 did think that DREICH was to be heard (a) IN THE COUNTRY as opposed to 30 who rated it as (c). There was no overall agreement

Table 11.3.1a 3(i) Based on Responses to 2a. "English"

	Standard	Non-Standard	Don't Know
DOUBT (42)	1	6	2
THATS (32)	0	13	0
DREICH (40)	0	0	0
SHOOGLY (42)	0	0	0
STRAVAIG (26)	1	0	0
KEN? (41)	0	0	0
NEVER ... NONE (37)	0	9	0
SELLT (38)	0	2	0
YOUS (42)	0	1	0
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	2	5	0
HUMPH (40)	0	1	0
CHUM (42)	0	5	0
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	2	9	1
WILL CAN (21)	0	3	0

Table 11.3.1b 3(i) All Responses

	Standard	Non-Standard	Don't Know
DOUBT (42)	1	10	2
THATS (32)	0	22	1
DREICH (40)	0	1	1
SHOONGLY (42)	0	3	0
STRAVAIG (26)	1	1	0
KEN? (41)	0	3	0
NEVER ... NONE (37)	0	18	2
SELLT (38)	0	5	0
YOUS (42)	0	5	0
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	6	9	0
HUMPH (40)	1	8	0
CHUM (42)	0	5	0
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	4	15	1
WILL CAN (21)	1	5	0

Table 11.3.2a 3(ii) Based on Responses to 2(b) "Scots"

	(a) in the country	(b) in the town	(c) both (a)&(b)	(d) don't know
DOUBT (42)	0	1	19	0
THATS (32)	0	0	0	2
DREICH (40)	10	0	30	0
SHOOGLY (42)	2	1	32	4
STRAVAIG (26)	8	0	12	1
KEN? (41)	0	7	32	0
NEVER ... NONE (37)	1	0	4	1
SELLT (38)	2	2	27	3
YOUS (42)	1	13	14	2
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	0	1	10	0
HUMPH (40)	0	2	23	1
CHUM (42)	0	12	12	2
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	0	0	2	2
WILL CAN (21)	3	3	6	2

Table 11.3.2b

3(ii) All Responses

	(a) in the country	(b) in the town	(c) both (a)&(b)	(d) don't know
DOUBT (42)	0	1	22	0
THATS (32)	0	1	7	5
DREICH (40)	10	0	30	0
SHOOGLY (42)	2	1	33	4
STRAVAIG (26)	9	1	13	1
KEN? (41)	0	7	34	0
NEVER ... NONE (37)	1	0	12	4
SELLT (38)	2	2	28	3
YOUS (42)	1	14	19	2
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	0	2	19	2
HUMPH (40)	0	3	28	1
CHUM (42)	0	13	13	2
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	0	1	11	2
WILL CAN	3	3	8	2

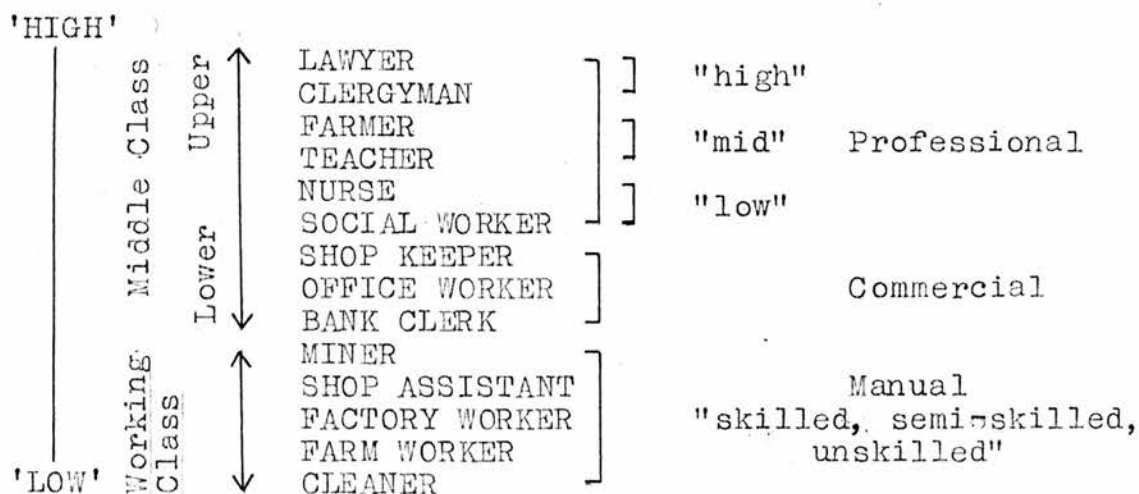
about YOUS and CHUM in terms of (b) IN THE TOWN and (c) IN BOTH COUNTRY AND TOWN, although we might conclude from this that YOUS and CHUM were thought by most to be heard in the town, if the two options are combined.

Table 11.3.2b presents all the responses to question 3(ii). These reveal a similar pattern, with the figures generally slightly larger. The major difference is that 11 marked WHAT A LAUGH IF as (c) BOTH COUNTRY AND TOWN against 1 who rated it as (b) IN THE TOWN compared with 2 for (c) and 0 for (b) in the SCOTS only responses.

In question (3) the patterns of response were evidently confused by the structure of the question. Some informants volunteered information where it was not expected, others did not. It would have been better if both parts of question 3 had required a response irrespective of question (2). There is no doubt that this question failed.

Question (4) was intended to obtain an indication from the teachers of the social status of each of the items. This was to be done by adopting "occupation" as an approximate but convenient measure of social class. A list of occupations was compiled ranging from those which might be considered as having a "high" status to those having a "low" status. It was assumed that there are generally held notions of the status of different occupations which the teachers would share. The Registrar General's scale of rating was consulted as a guide. The resulting list of occupations, 14, may be thought of as a flexible categ-

ory scale. The order adopted was:



The bracketing on the right suggests an analysis in more general terms, the arrows on the left the direction of status and social class. The scale may be considered "flexible" in that the relative ordering of adjacent points may be debatable in some cases, but the intention is not to make fine distinctions between the points or categories but to consider the scale as a whole, looking at differences in allocation of the items to the different occupations broadly. The teachers were presented with the scale as a simple list of occupations, entirely unqualified, and for each item asked to underline those jobs in the list they might expect someone using the item to do. The number of responses to each occupation for each item were counted. (No response to an occupation is taken to mean that the teacher did not expect someone in that job to use the item.) Given the assumption made (in relation to question (1)) about the social class of teachers, that they are middle-class, or behave linguistically as "middle-class" speakers, we can interpret the results to question (4) in the following ways. If teachers as a group perceive any of the

items used in a particular area of the scale relating to particular class grouping it will indicate whether the item is "marked" socially for the teachers or not. If most respondents indicate an item as being used in the area of the scale comprising those in professional, middle-class occupations, including TEACHER, it will suggest that the item is not socially "marked" for them; if they indicate that it is used in another area of the scale, e.g. by those in "low" status, working-class occupations but not by people in the professional middle-class area, then it will suggest that the item is socially marked for the teachers, as "working-class"; if most of the informants indicate an item is used more or less across the whole scale then it will be shown not to be socially marked for them. Also, where the proportions of usage indicated are not high, revealing division amongst the teachers, then we must conclude that there is no real agreement among the teachers about the social status of the item on one area or all of the scale: the markedness of the item with respect to social class is uncertain, partly or wholly.

The results for this question are presented in Table 11.4 and Figures 11.4.1a-b and 11.4.2a-c. Table 11.4 shows the number of responses in each case and also gives these as percentage ratios of the potential number of responses. Figure 11.4.1a-b presents the information in table 11.4 as a set of histograms based on the raw data and figure 11.4.2a-c the information as a set of line graphs based on the % ratios. The patterns of response are best represented visually in figures 11.4.2a-c since here the

Table 11.4 Perception of the social status of items in terms of occupation		LAWYER	CLERGYMAN	FARMER	TEACHER	NURSE	SOCIAL WORKER	SHOP KEEPER	OFFICE WORKER	BANK CLERK	MINER	SHOP ASSISTANT	FACTORY WORKER	FARM WORKER	CLEANER
DOUBT (42)	n 18 % 43	19 45	23 55	23 55	24 57	24 57	27 64	27 64	26 62	26 62	29 69	27 64	29 69	29 69	
THATS (32)	n 0 % 0	0 0	3 9	1 3	4 13	2 6	6 19	5 16	5 16	21 66	25 78	28 88	22 69	28 88	
DREICH (40)	n 30 % 75	31 78	38 95	33 83	31 78	30 75	36 90	30 75	30 75	34 85	34 85	33 83	38 95	35 88	
SHOOGLY (42)	n 9 % 21	10 24	28 67	20 48	24 57	19 45	29 69	24 57	17 40	28 67	36 86	32 76	32 76	36 86	
STRAVAIG (26)	n 13 % 50	13 50	16 62	16 62	12 46	11 42	14 54	11 42	10 38	12 46	12 46	12 46	17 65	13 50	
KEN? (41)	n 1 % 2	1 2	12 29	1 2	8 20	6 15	13 32	14 34	8 20	34 83	35 85	39 95	36 88	39 95	
NEVER... NONE (37)	n 1 % 3	1 3	2 5	1 3	4 11	3 8	4 11	7 19	5 14	23 62	29 78	33 89	29 78	33 89	
SELLT (38)	n 1 % 3	1 3	7 18	1 3	3 8	2 5	8 21	9 24	7 18	29 76	30 79	36 95	37 97	35 92	
YOUS (42)	n 0 % 0	0 0	3 7	2 5	6 14	1 2	5 12	10 24	6 14	29 69	32 76	37 88	28 67	39 93	
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	n 24 % 60	26 65	29 73	32 80	35 88	34 85	34 85	35 88	30 75	28 70	34 85	29 73	26 65	29 73	
HUMPH (40)	n 17 % 43	18 45	32 80	31 78	32 80	31 78	33 83	31 78	28 70	35 88	38 95	37 93	37 93	37 93	
CHUM (42)	n 3 % 7	4 10	7 17	7 17	13 31	7 17	12 29	19 45	13 31	12 29	27 64	24 57	16 38	25 60	
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	n 12 % 32	12 32	20 54	18 49	22 59	21 57	24 65	26 70	23 62	26 70	32 86	31 84	29 78	30 81	
WILL CAN (21)	n 1 % 5	1 5	5 24	3 14	3 14	2 10	5 24	4 19	2 10	15 71	17 81	19 90	17 81	19 90	

Figure 11.4.1

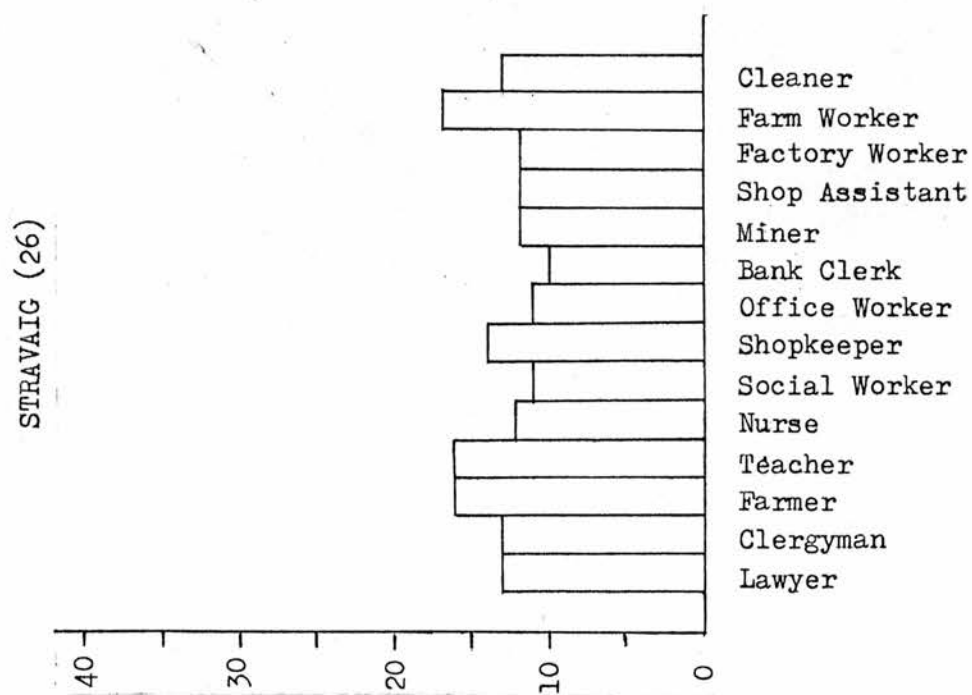
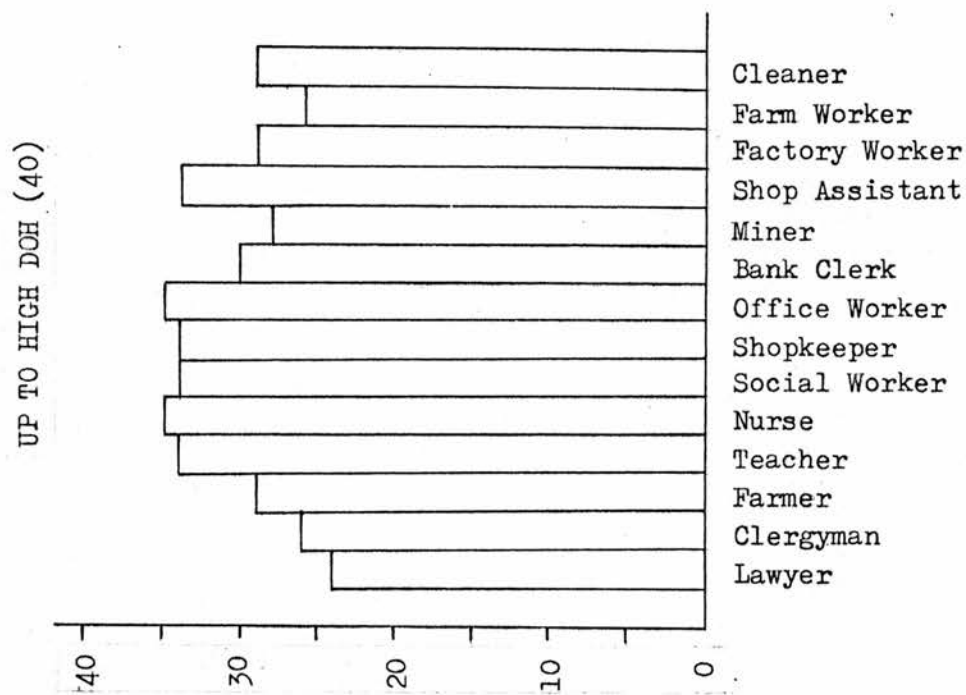


Figure 11.4.1

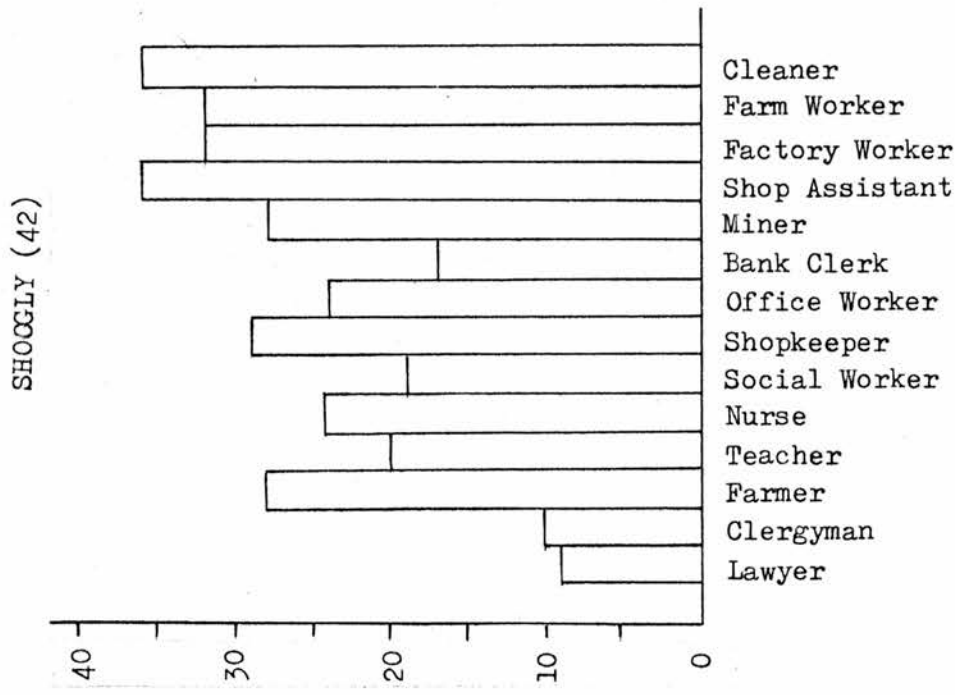
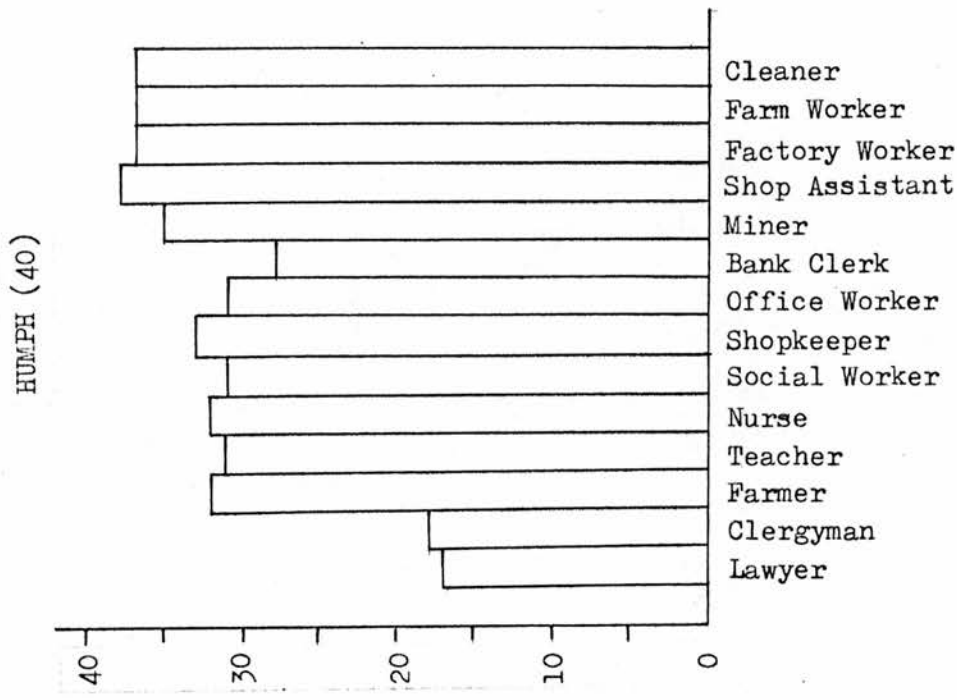


Figure 11.4.1

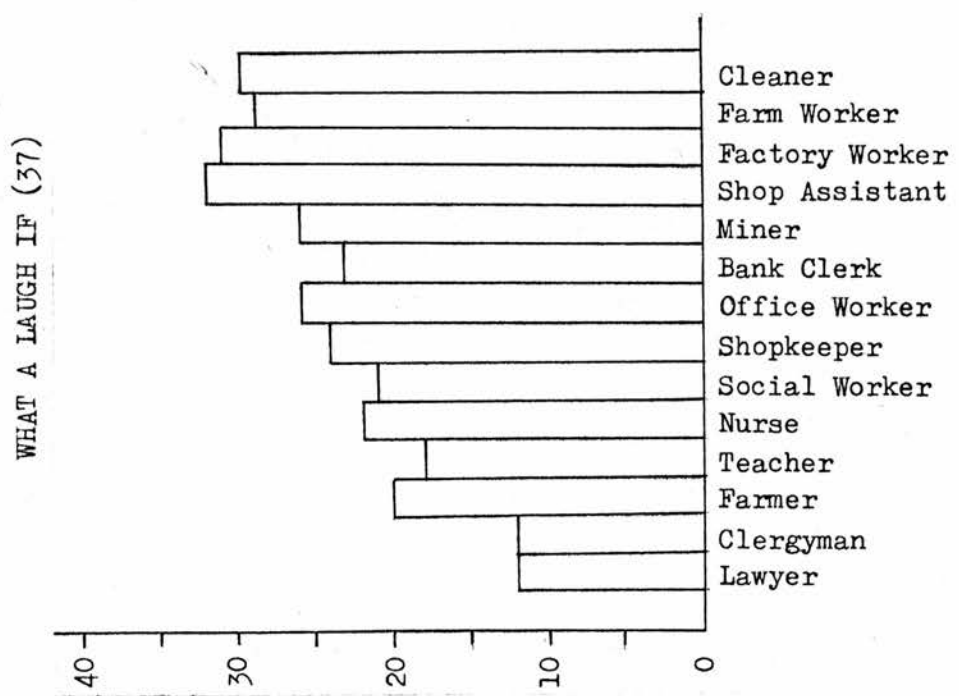
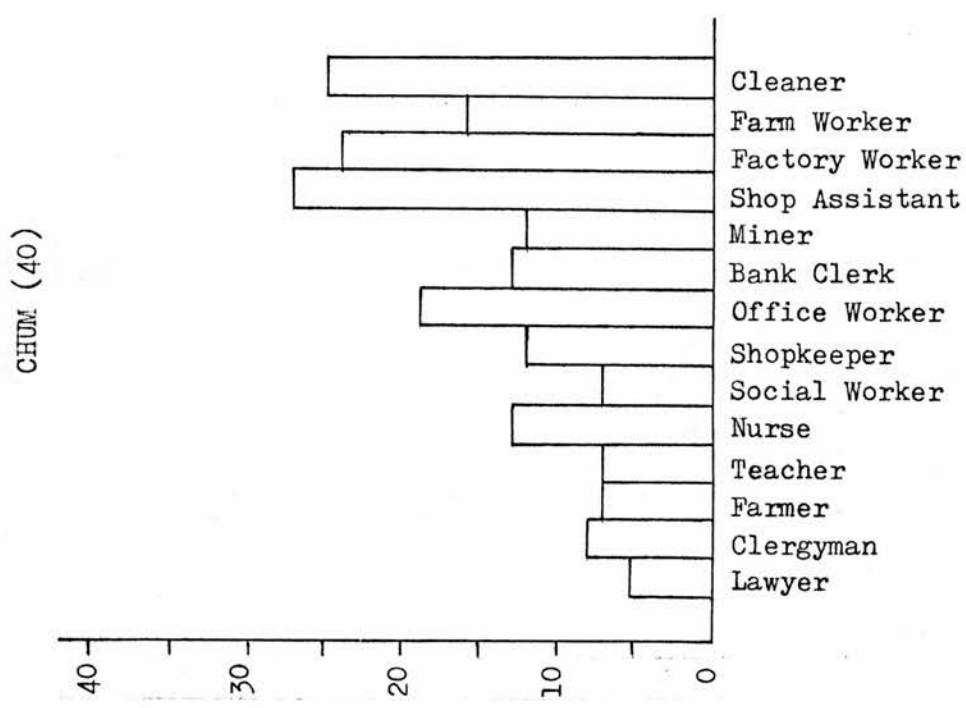


Figure 11.4.1

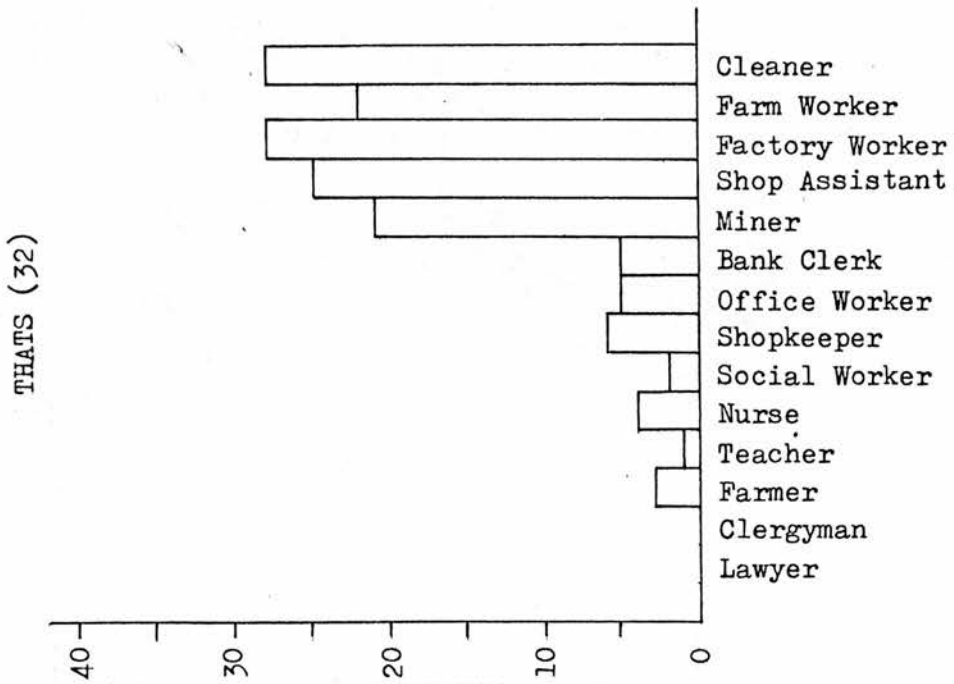
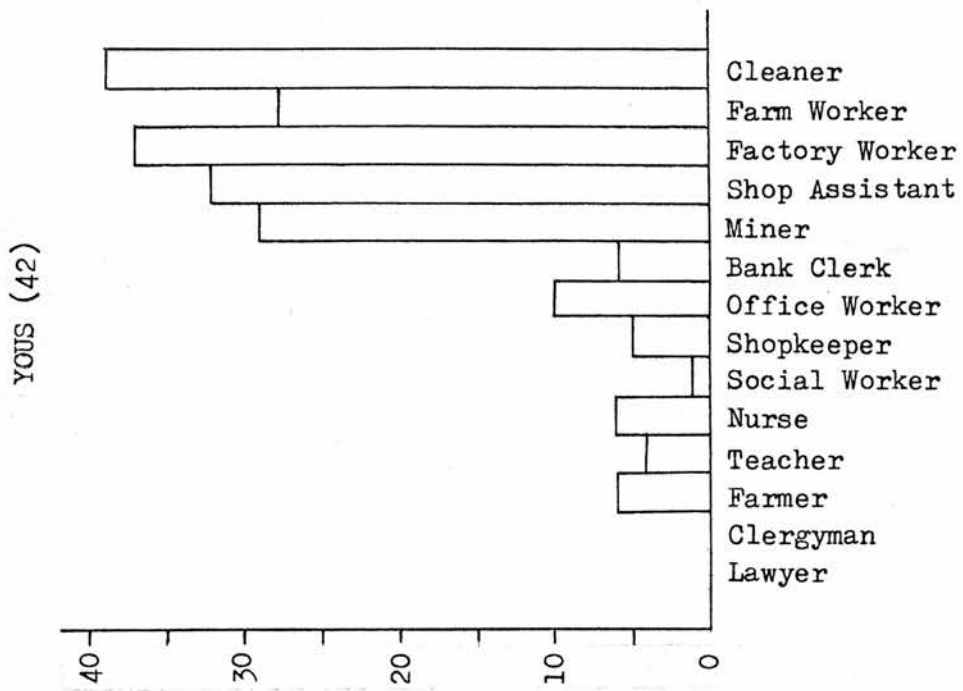


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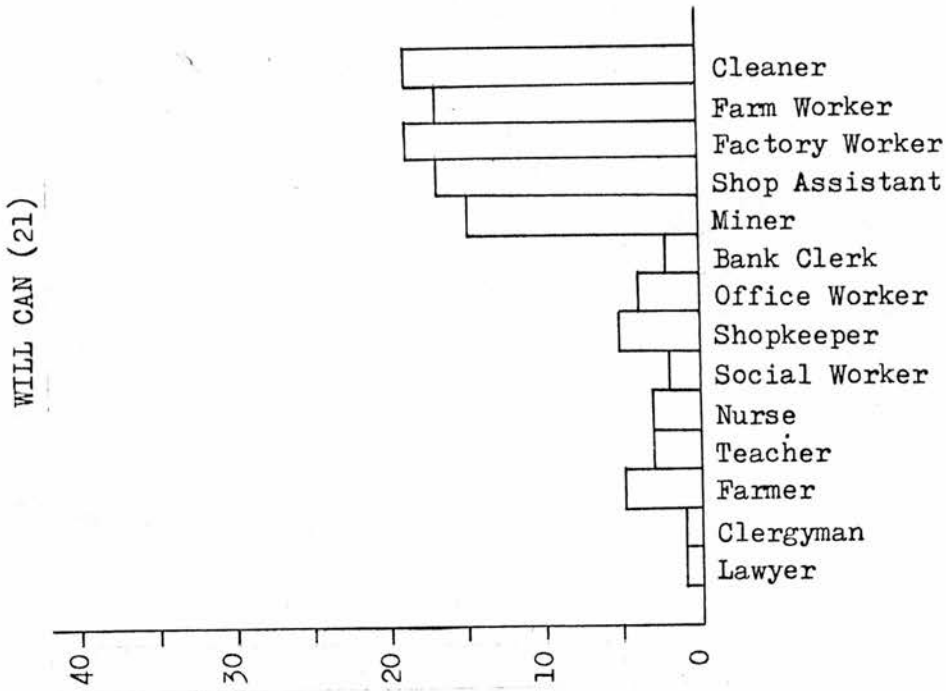
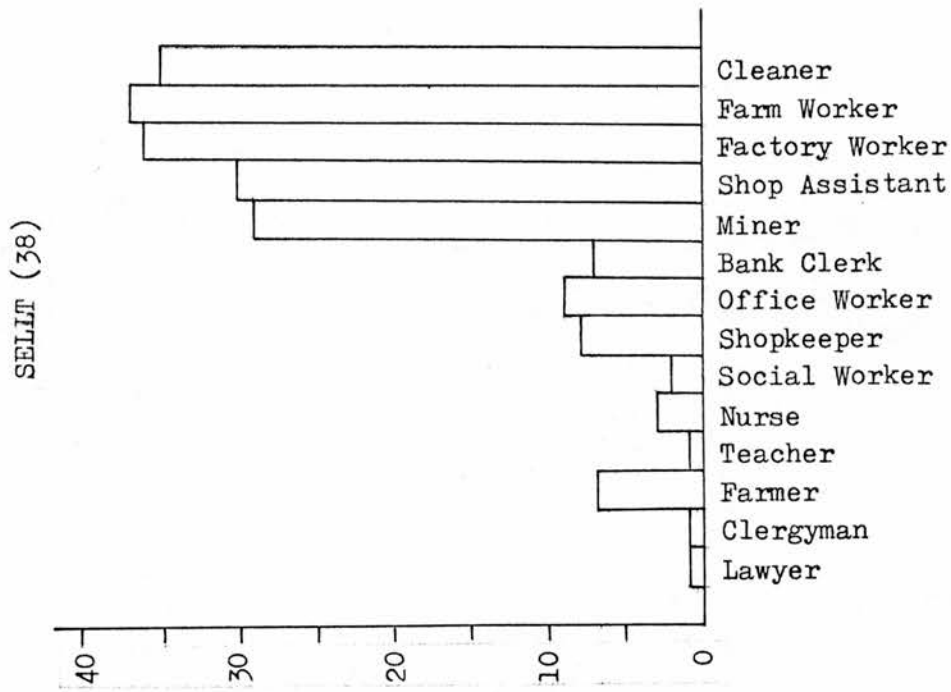


Figure 11.4.1

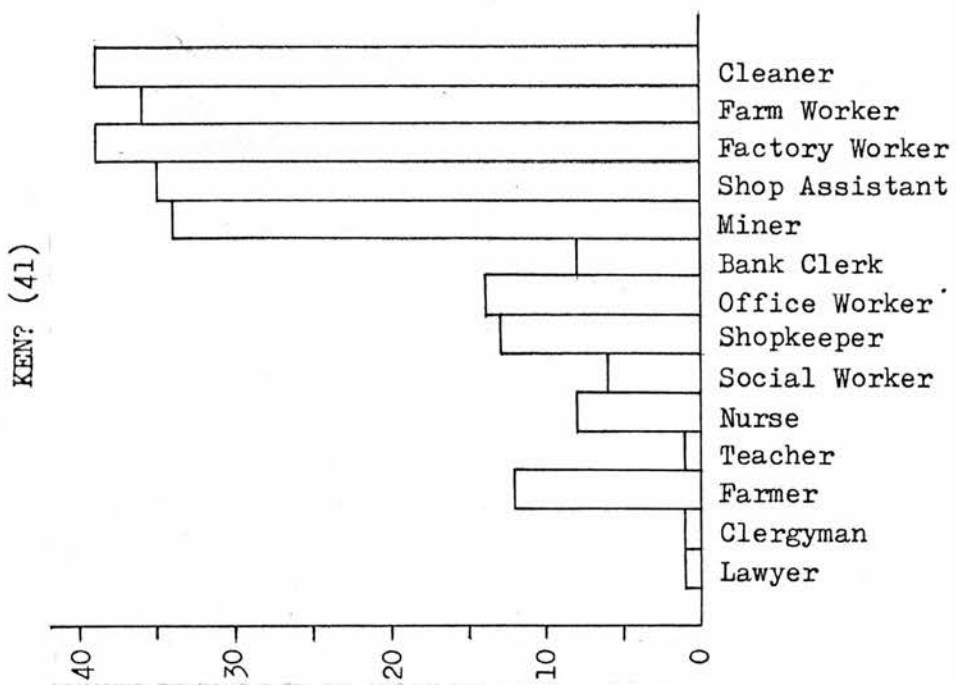
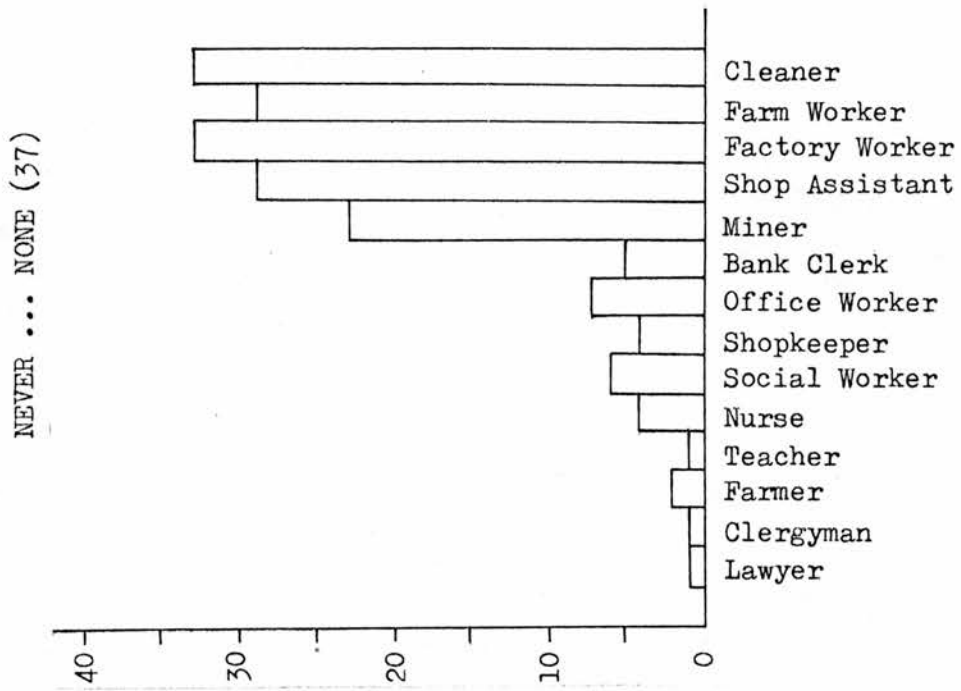
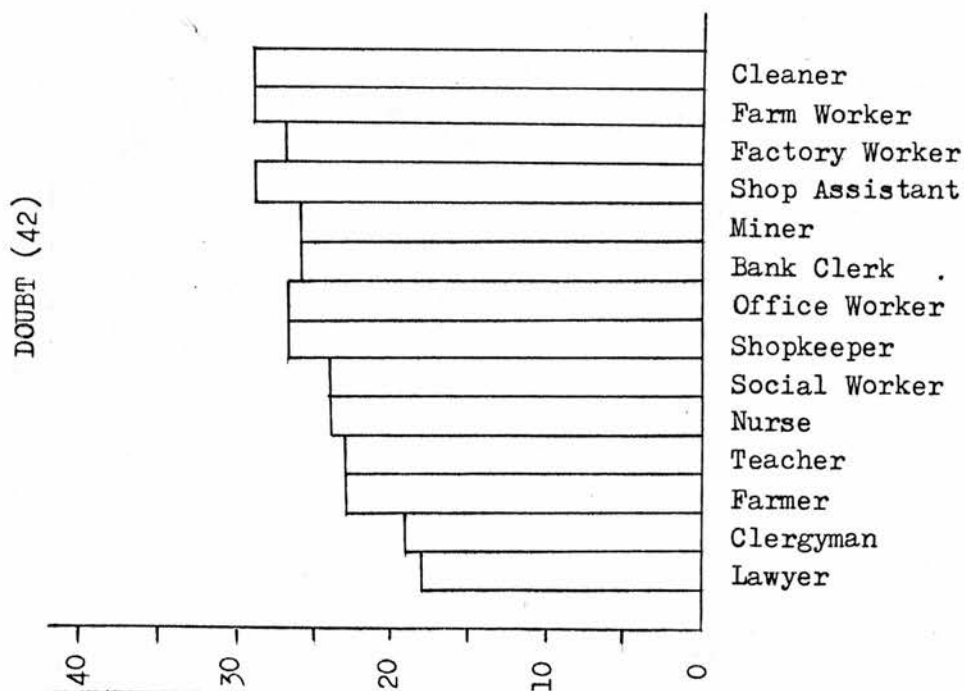
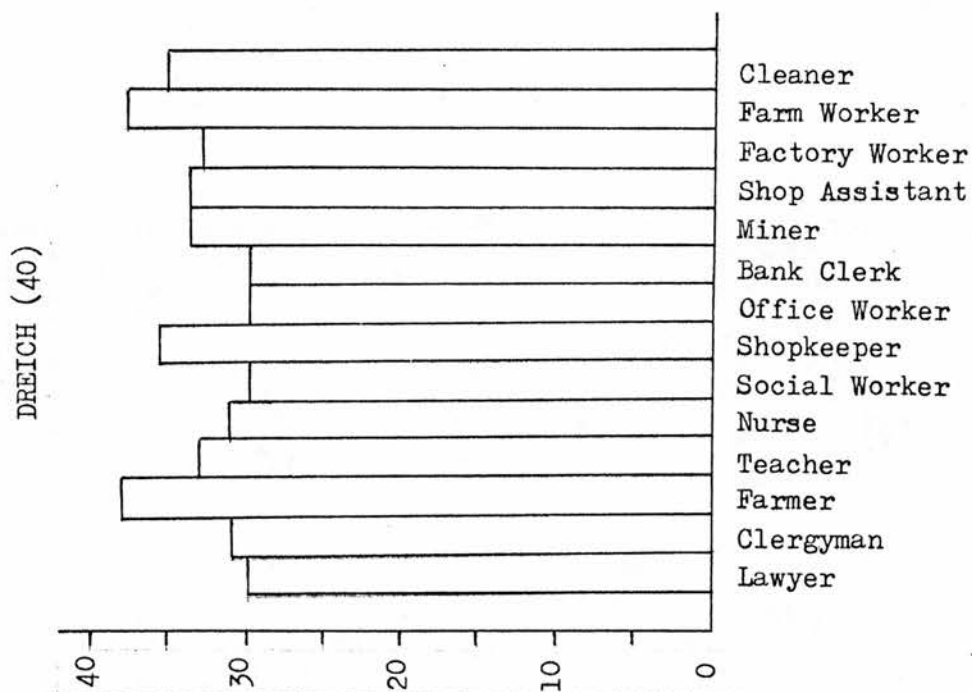


Figure 11.4.1



results are presented proportionally and are therefore directly comparable.

It is suggested that the patterns of response resolve the items into three main groups.

Group 1: Figure 11.4.2a

The items in this group are SELLT, NEVER... NONE, WILL CAN, THATS, YOUS, KEN?. These are characterised by having been marked by the highest proportion of respondents as used by those in occupations at the "low" status end of the scale, i.e. MINER, SHOP ASSISTANT, FACTORY WORKER, etc., those which it is suggested are essentially working-class and manual. Middle-class, professional and commercial occupations were perceived by very significantly lower proportions of the teachers as users of these items.

Over 90% marked SELLT as being used by FARM WORKER, FACTORY WORKER and CLEANER. A slightly smaller proportion but over 75% indicated that it would be used by SHOP ASSISTANT and MINER.

Just over 20% thought SELLT would be used by OFFICE WORKER and SHOP KEEPER, 18% believed it would be used by BANK CLERK and FARMER, several points apart on the scale. The levels of usage indicated for the remaining occupations SOCIAL WORKER, TEACHER, CLERGYMAN and LAWYER are very low.

Over 80% indicated that WILL CAN would be used by CLEANER, FACTORY WORKER, SHOP ASSISTANT and FARM WORKER as users. A slightly smaller proportion believed that MINER would use this item. By comparison much lower proportions of the teachers indicated the other occupations as users, the highest being 24% who regarded FARMER and SHOP-KEEPER

Figure 11.4.2a

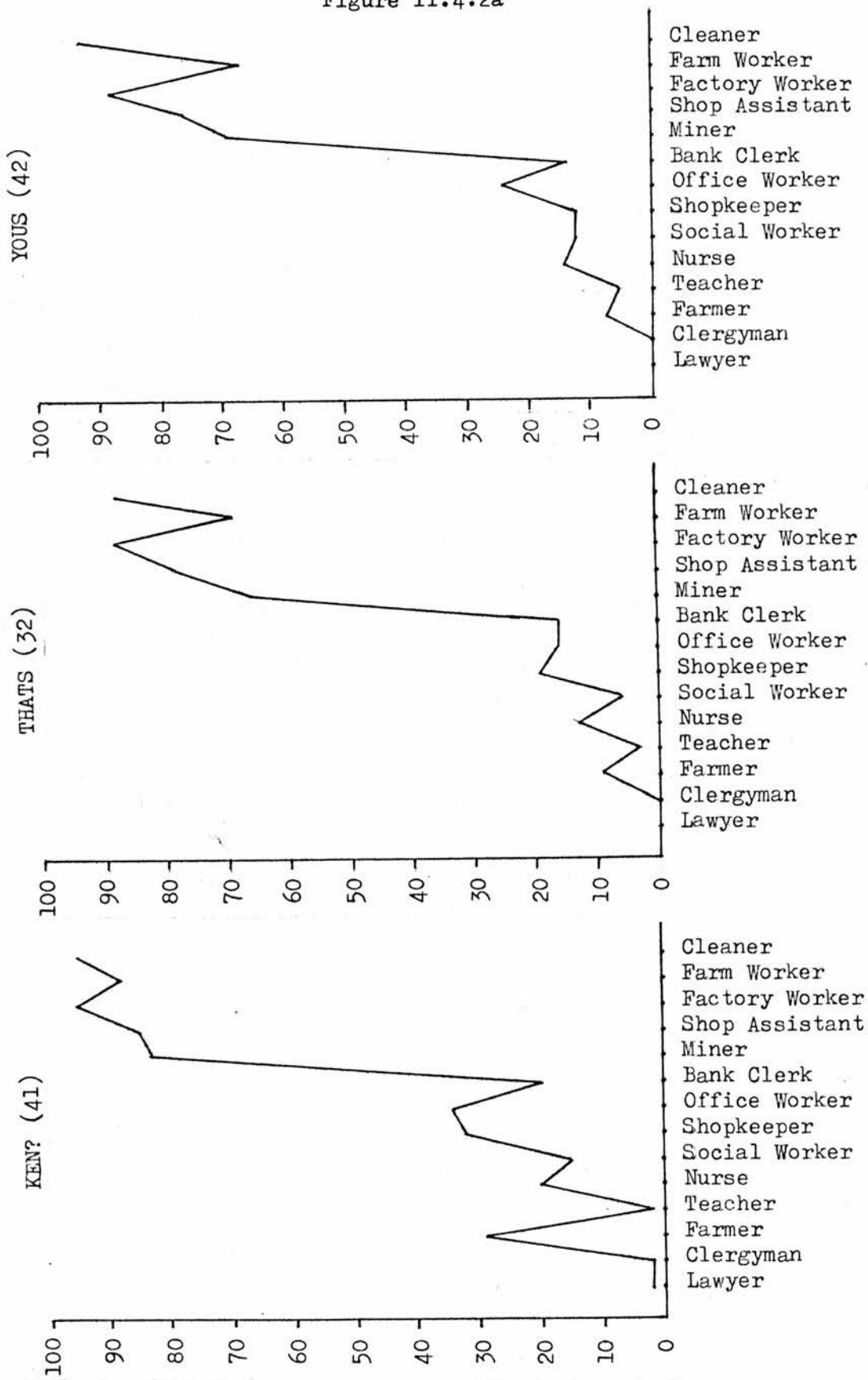
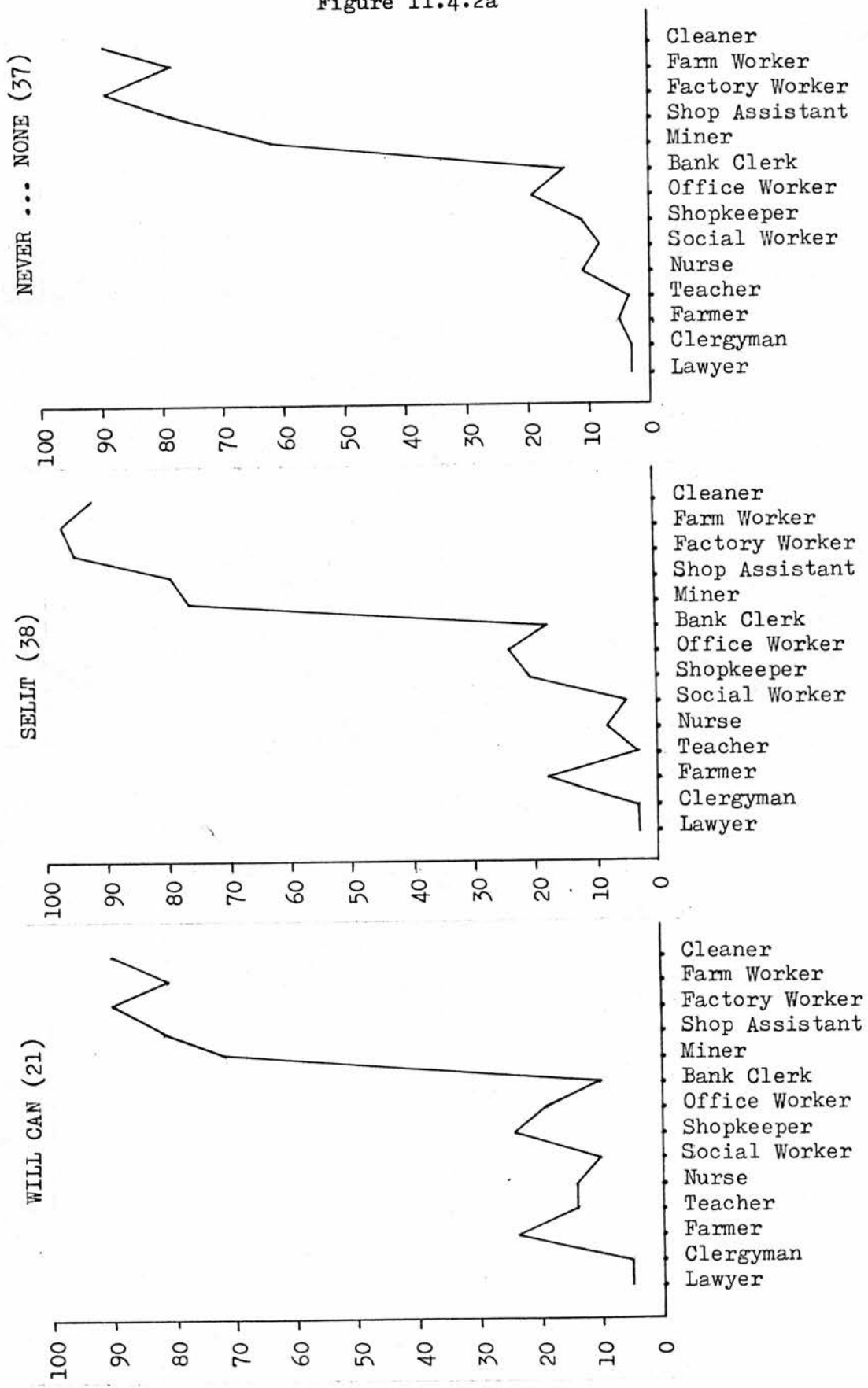


Figure 11.4.2a



as users, and the lowest 5% for LAWYER and CLERGYMAN. Again the divide between working-class and middle-class occupations is evident.

Again, over 80% reckoned that KEN? would be used by FACTORY WORKER, CLEANER, FARM WORKER, MINER and SHOP ASSISTANT and much lower proportions judged the remaining occupations as users although in some cases these are higher than for the previous items. 34% saw OFFICE WORKER and 32% SHOP-KEEPER as users and 29% FARMER. The proportion drops to 20% for those who thought that BANK CLERK and NURSE would use it and to 15% for those rating SOCIAL WORKER. TEACHER, CLERGYMAN and LAWYER were considered to be users by only 2% in each case. 78% and over rated FACTORY WORKER, CLEANER, SHOP ASSISTANT and FARM WORKER as using NEVER ... NONE, while a rather smaller proportion thought that MINER would use this item. Again, the proportions of respondents who perceived the remaining occupations as users of the item are very low by comparison. The highest of these was only 19% for OFFICE WORKER. TEACHER, CLERGYMAN and LAWYER emerge as the least likely users, only 3% in each instance seeing them as users.

Very high proportions reckoned CLEANER and FACTORY WORKER likely to use YOUS. Smaller proportions, between two-thirds and three-quarters, thought that it would be used by SHOP ASSISTANT, MINER and FARM WORKER. There is a wider variation at this end of the scale than was the case for the previous items. In the middle part of the scale, 24% regarded OFFICE WORKER as likely to use NEVER ... NONE. The levels of response for the other occupations were low or negligible. At the top of the occupa-

tional scale, none believed CLERGYMAN or LAWYER would use it.

The final item in this group, THATS, was thought by 88% to be used by FACTORY WORKER and CLEANER. Smaller proportions, though still high, thought that SHOPKEEPER, FARM WORKER and MINER would use it. Once more a low probability of usage is shown for the other occupations, the highest being 19% for SHOP KEEPER. Again, none thought that LAWYER or CLERGYMAN would use it.

Group 2: Figure 11.4.2b

The items in Group 2 are CHUM, SHOGLY, WHAT A LAUGH IF. In the responses to this question these are characterised by less extreme and more varied patterns of usage as perceived by the teachers. Again, most of the teachers perceived the items as being used by people at the low status end of the scale, but there are rather higher numbers proportionately who rated people in the "mid" and "high" areas as likely to use these items compared with Group 1.

78% or more thought that SHOP ASSISTANT, FACTORY WORKER, CLEANER and FARM WORKER would use WHAT A LAUGH IF. At the other end of the scale, 32% saw CLERGYMAN and LAWYER as likely to use it which are the lowest responses for this item but rather higher for these occupations than was elicited in Group 1. For these teachers this item is not marked in terms of social status, or if marked it is as middle-class. The responses to the other occupations, covering the broad middle of the scale, range from 49% (18) who thought that TEACHER would use it to 70% (26) who

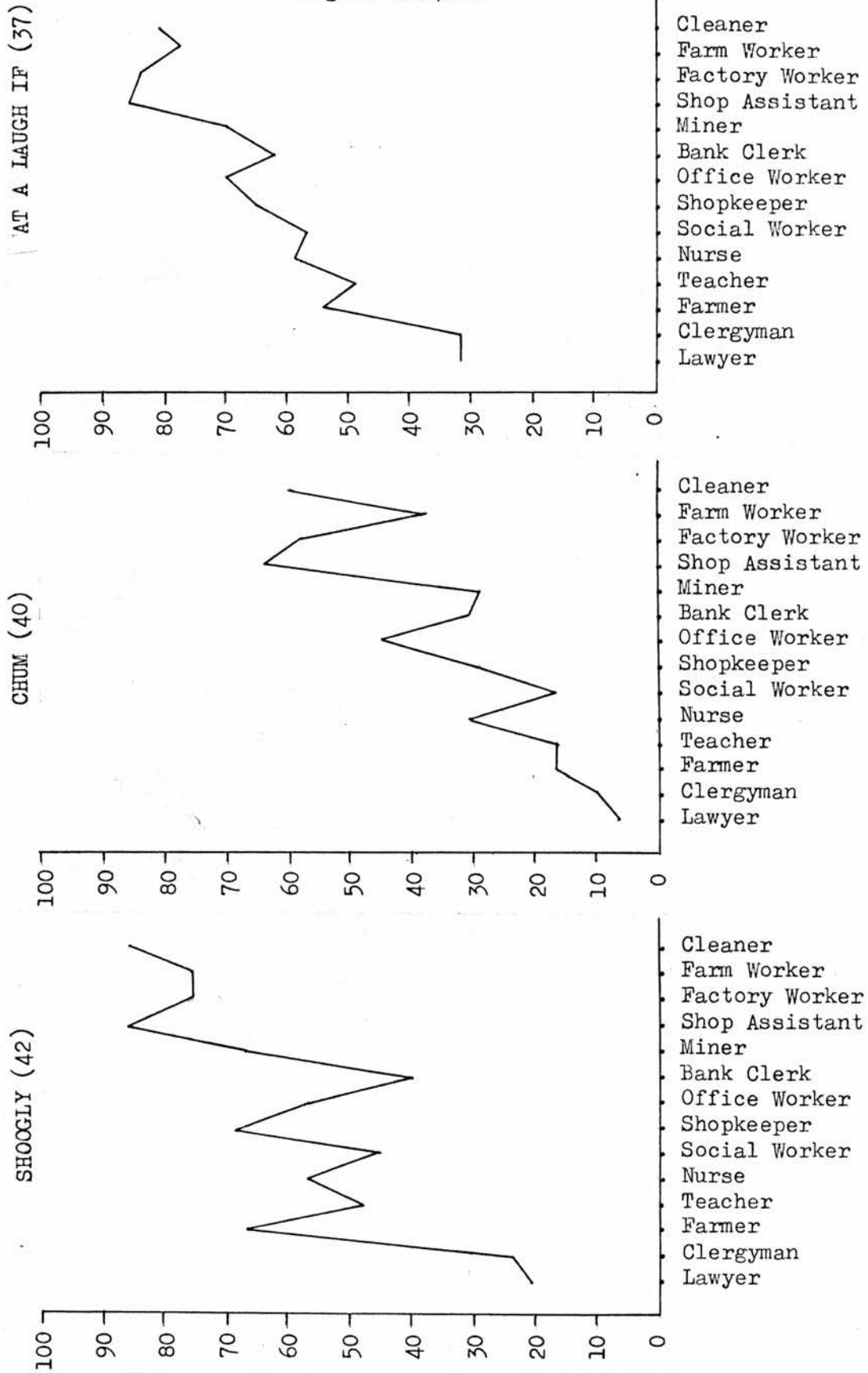
thought that MINER and OFFICE WORKER would use it. What this reveals is a more gradual pattern of response across the scale with perceived usage increasing towards the mid-low end. Thus, while there is a good level of agreement that someone at the "low" end of the scale would use WHAT A LAUGH IF and someone at the "high" end would not, there is some uncertainty about the mid section. The markedness of this item is not very clearly defined.

The patterns for CHUM and SHOOGLY show more extreme variation in the levels of response which can be seen in the various 'peaks' and 'troughs' in the line graphs.

There was a high level of agreement that SHOOGLY would be used at the "low" end of the scale: most believed that it would be used by CLEANER, SHOP ASSISTANT, FACTORY WORKER and FARM WORKER. There was also good agreement that, at the "high" end of the scale, CLERGYMAN and LAWYER would not use it, although 21% thought that LAWYER would use SHOOGLY and 24% CLERGYMAN. There was no clear agreement about the "mid" area of the scale. The highest proportions here were 69% (20) for SHOP KEEPER and 67% (20) for FARMER and MINER. The teachers were more evenly divided over whether TEACHER, NURSE, SOCIAL WORKER, OFFICE WORKER and BANK CLERK would use SHOOGLY.

Clearly, the informants as a group were divided over whether SHOOGLY was acceptable to middle-class people, with variation over the different occupations in this part of the scale also evident. Particularly, rather fewer perceived TEACHER, SOCIAL WORKER and BANK CLERK to use it than FARMER and SHOP KEEPER.

Figure 11.4.2b



In the case of CHUM the pattern of response is very irregular. Although most responses to this item are found at the "low" end of the scale, the highest proportions around 60% indicating usage are for SHOP ASSISTANT, CLEANER and FACTORY WORKER. This also means that quite sizeable minorities did not think that people in these occupations would use CHUM. For the remaining occupations less than 50% in each case thought that people in them would use the item. FARM WORKER, in the "low" status area of the scale was thought to use CHUM by only 38%. CHUM did show some perceiving it as being likely to be heard "in the town" in response to question 3(ii), so that it does not seem to have "rural" connotations. The highest proportion in the "mid" part of the scale was 45% for OFFICE WORKER. Rather fewer, around 30%, thought that NURSE, BANK CLERK and MINER would be users, while only 17% believed FARMER (cf. FARM WORKER), TEACHER and SOCIAL WORKER as users and once more the lowest levels of response are for LAWYER, 7%, and CLERGYMAN, 10%.

The pattern for CHUM suggests that it is socially marked to some extent, although FARM WORKER and MINER did show low levels of response. The fluctuations in the pattern across the scale and the overall comparative low level of response suggests the teachers as a group were unsure about this item. However, some light is shed on this by unsolicited remarks made by some informants on the questionnaire. In relation to this question, two informants observed that CHUM would be used by none in these occupations but by "any young person under, say,

20-ish" and by "only young people". Also, in relation to question (5) which is concerned with the teachers' own use of items, when and to whom they would use them, the following comments were elicited:

"used by young people. I use it only informally in conversation with pupils."

"possibly to someone younger, to children; not to peers."

"as I understand it is an expression used more often by children."

"occasionally - more as a child would speak to a friend."

"used to use it as child but not now - childish?"

"not used to the same extent with older age group."

That is, there was a belief among some teachers, explicitly stated that CHUM is used by children/young people and by adults to children/young people. This belief may have been held by others without explicit statement and may, accordingly have influenced their response to this item on question (4) so that a proportion of the teachers did not think that everyone, or perhaps, anyone, in the occupations listed, being adults presumably, would use CHUM.

Group 3: Figure 11.4.2c

This group comprises those items where the patterns of response are more uniform across the scale so suggesting that the items are not socially marked for the teachers. The items are DREICH, DOUBT, HUMPH, UP TO HIGH DOH, STRAVAIG.

DREICH was perceived by high proportions of the respondents as being used across the entire scale. The lowest proportion was 75% for LAWYER, SOCIAL WORKER and BANK CLERK,

Figure 11.4.2c

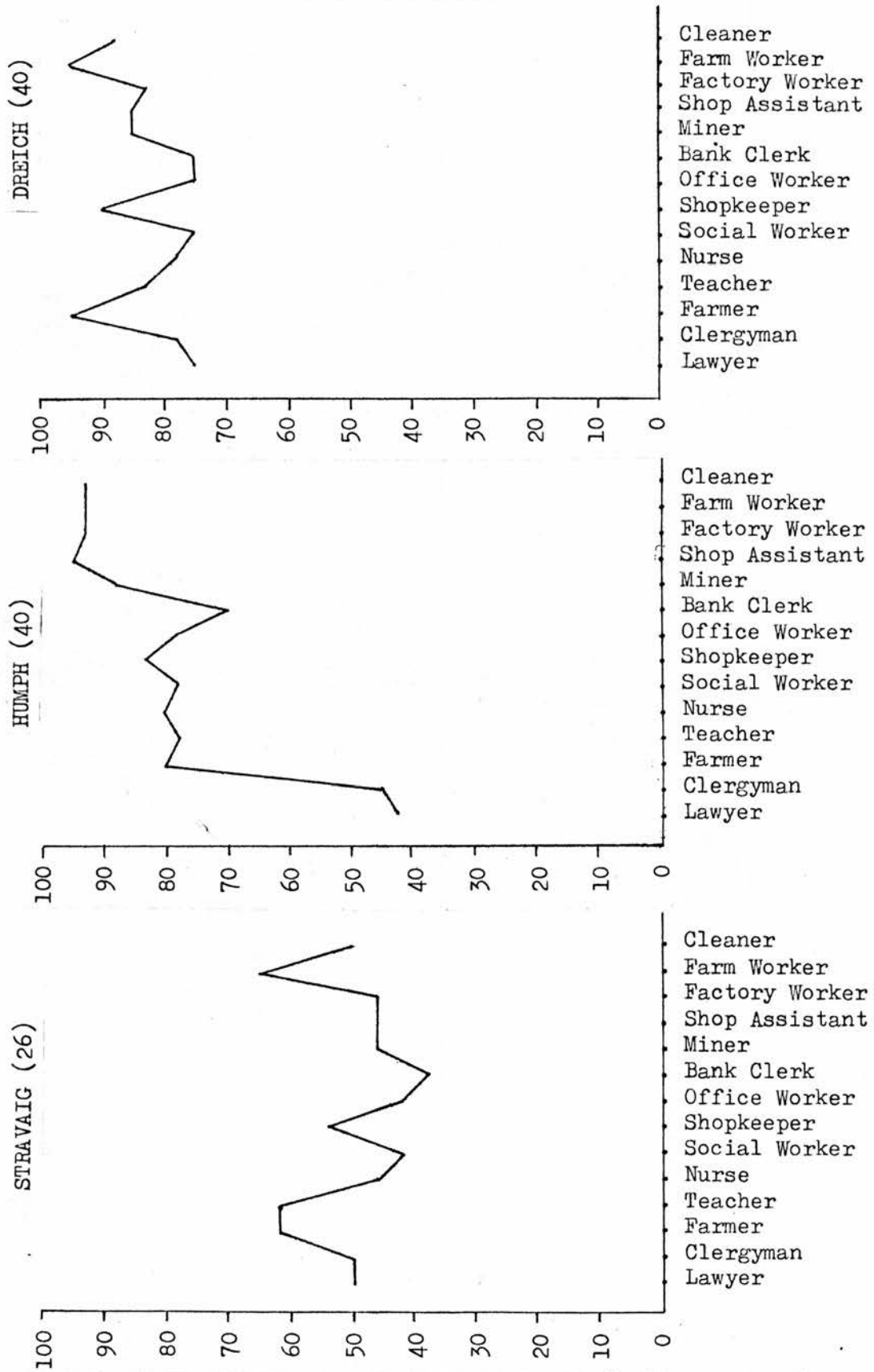
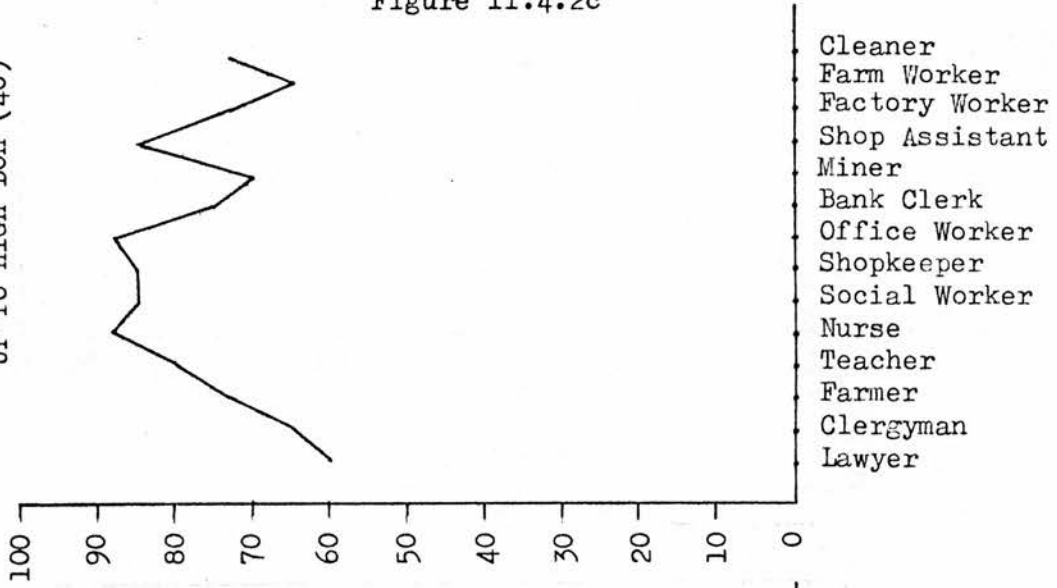
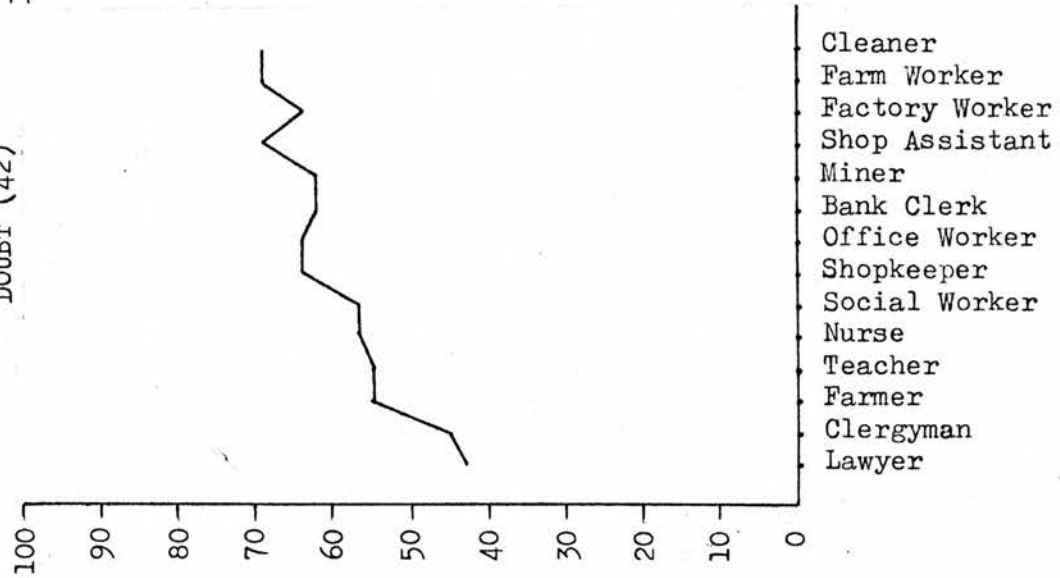


Figure 11.4.2c

UP TO HIGH DOH (40)



DOUBT (42)



while 78% thought that CLERGYMAN would use it. All the other occupations were rated by over 80% as users, the highest proportions being for FARM WORKER and FARMER, both 95%.

There is some variation, notably that FARMER and FARM WORKER were thought by most as likely to use DREICH. DREICH was also identified by most as "Scots" in question (2) and it may be that people working in a rural occupation are particularly thought to use a Scots word; but this is not a social distinction. Clearly most of the teachers thought that DREICH can be used right across the social scale, that is, it does not appear to be socially marked for them.

DOUBT also shows a fairly even distribution across the scale although the overall level of response is somewhat low. The smallest proportions indicated LAWYER and CLERGYMAN as users, though these were 43% and 45% and the highest, 69%, indicated CLEANER, FARM WORKER and SHOP ASSISTANT, in each case. These represent the "high" and "low" ends of the scale respectively. The level of responses in between shows a gradual but not steep rise towards the "low" end, the differences between adjacent points being small.

The overall low level of response indicates that as a group the teachers were not agreed, which, together with the fairly uniform pattern, suggests that DOUBT was not obviously marked socially for the teachers.

HUMPH shows a good spread of response across the scale except at the "high" end where the levels of response

for LAWYER and CLERGYMAN are rather lower, 43% and 45% respectively compared with 78% and over who rated the remaining occupations as users. The highest levels of response were for SHOP ASSISTANT, CLEANER, FARM WORKER, FACTORY WORKER and MINER at the "low" end.

The pattern across the "mid" and "low" areas of the scale is fairly uniform with small variation. Apart from the fact that a majority of respondents did not think that LAWYER and CLERGYMAN would use the item, HUMPH was apparently unmarked for the teachers.

There was a good general level of agreement that UP TO HIGH DOH was used across the scale, though with some variation apparent. The lowest levels of response were for LAWYER, 60% and CLERGYMAN and FARM WORKER, 65%. Also the responses to FARMER and MINER were rather less than the highest, these being found mainly in the "mid" area of the scale for TEACHER, NURSE and OFFICE WORKER, SOCIAL WORKER and SHOP KEEPER and also SHOP ASSISTANT at the "low" end. Also at the "low" end the proportions that rated CLEANER and FACTORY WORKER as likely to use it were slightly lower than the "mid" points. Thus, there was most agreement that those in the mid-low middle-class occupations would use this item, but some uncertainty about those in "high" and "low" occupations. However, the majority did see UP TO HIGH DOH as being used across the social scale which would suggest that it is probably unmarked for most.

The results for STRAVAIG reveal a pattern of usage right across the scale. The line graph (Fig.11.4.2c) seems to show a considerable degree of variation. However, it

should be remembered that this is based on a potential number of responses of only 26, so that on the % scale the differences in levels of response are exaggerated. The histogram for this item (Fig.11.4a), based on the raw data shows a more uniform pattern: the overall range of responses from lowest to highest is 38% to 65% which in 'real' figures is only 10 to 17. The smaller the sample our results are based on, the more tentative we must be in our interpretation and therefore it would be unwise to draw any firm conclusions from the variations shown in the results.

There is no pattern to the variations which suggest that STRAVAIG was socially marked for the teachers.

Table 11.4.3 summarises and generalises the results indicating the general levels of response to each item in terms of the occupational scale. They are interpreted here according to four class divisions: "upper", "mid" and "lower" Middle-Class (covering LAWYER to BANK CLERK on the occupational scale) and Working Class (covering MINER to CLEANER). Our interpretation of the data suggests no marked difference between "mid" and "lower" Middle-Class parts of the scale. However, some differences are suggested between the "upper" Middle-Class part and the other Middle-Class sections. There was no agreement about whether someone in the "upper" part would use HUMPH and UP TO HIGH DOH whereas it was agreed that those in other Middle-Class occupations would use these items. Also, the teachers were well enough agreed that someone in the

Table 11.4.3

	OCCUPATION			
	MIDDLE CLASS			WORKING CLASS
	"Upper"	"Mid"	"Lower"	
WILL CAN (G)	N	N	N	Y
SELLT (G)	N	N	N	Y
NEVER ... NONE (G)	N	N	N	Y
THATS (G)	N	N	N	Y
YOUS (G)	N	N	N	Y
KEN? (G)	N	N	N	Y
SHOGLY (L)	N	?	?	Y
STRAVAIG (L)	?	?	?	?
HUMPH (L)	?	Y	Y	Y
DREICH (L)	Y	Y	Y	Y
DOUBT (AL)	?	?	?	?
CHUM (AL)	N	N	N	?
UP TO HIGH DOH (AI)	?	Y	Y	Y
WHAT A LAUGH IF (AI)	N	?	?	Y

Y - generally perceived as used

N - generally perceived as not used

? - perception not clear

Summary table of teachers' perceptions of social usage in terms of occupation.

"upper" part of the scale would not use SHOONGLY or WHAT A LAUGH IF, while there was no agreement about their use in the other Middle-Class occupations.

The main divisions are between the Middle-Class and Working Class occupations. Working class people would use WILL CAN, SELLT, NEVER...NONE, KEN?, THATS and YOUS but Middle-Class people would not is the conclusion to be drawn. That is, these items were marked as working class for the teachers.

According to the respondents, both middle-class and working class people would use HUMPH, DREICH and UP TO HIGH DOH so these items were seen as unmarked in terms of social class.

SHOONGLY and WHAT A LAUGH IF would be used by those in working class occupations. Some thought that those in middle-class occupations would use these also but there was no overall agreement about this. The markedness of these items is not certain although for some they may be marked as working class.

CHUM would not be used by middle-class speakers and there was no agreement about its use among working class speakers. This item seems to be marked for the teachers though, perhaps, not in terms of class as was indicated above.

The teachers were not agreed at all about the status of STRAVAIG and DOUBT across the entire scale so that the markedness of these items is not clear.

In terms of linguistic classification, the only items ascribed solely to those in working class occupations

were the grammatical forms. The Scots lexical items were either seen by most as used by those in Middle-Class occupations and by those in working class occupations, or there was no overall agreement about their use by the former. In the case of STRAVAIG there was no agreement about the usage among the latter. There was no consistent pattern with the anglomorphs. Only UP TO HIGH DOH was thought by most to be generally used. The teachers were uncertain about the status of the others.

In the light of the results from question (4) we can consider the original hypotheses proposed for the items in terms of class following Aitken (1979). The hypotheses that NEVER ... NONE, SELLT, KEN? and YOUS would be marked for middle-class speakers finds support (given the assumption about the class of the informants). It was hypothesised that the Scots lexical forms would be marked socially also. However, this is not supported by the results where HUMPH and DREICH seem to be unmarked and the markedness of STRAVAIG and SHOOGLY is uncertain. It was proposed also that DOUBT and THATS would be unmarked for the speakers but the status of DOUBT here is uncertain and THATS was quite evidently marked. Finally, CHUM, WILL CAN, WHAT A LAUGH IF and UP TO HIGH DOH were considered of uncertain markedness according to the original hypotheses. This finds support only in the case of WHAT A LAUGH IF. UP TO HIGH DOH was unmarked, WILL CAN marked and CHUM marked also (though not necessarily socially).

By combining the results of questions (1) and (4) we can propose a revised set of hypotheses for the items as perceived by the teachers. These are set out in Table 11.4.4.

Table 11.4.4

Question (1): Acceptable

Positive Negative Uncertain
 (SOMEWHERE) (NOWHERE)

Question (4):

Social Status

Marked

Unmarked

Uncertain

CHUM* (?)	NEVER ... NONE (N) THATS (N) YOUS (N)	KEN? (N) WILL CAN (N) SELLT (N)
HUMPH (?) DREICH (Y) UP TO HIGH DOH (?)		
STRAVAIG (?) DOUBT (?) SHOGLY (?) WHAT A LAUGH IF (?)		

* criteria other than social indicated in marking of this item

() acceptability "in the classroom": Y - acceptable

N - not acceptable ? - acceptability uncertain

Question (5) was concerned with whether the teachers themselves would claim to use the items or not and, if they did so, "to whom" and "on what sort of occasion". Of course the results are not an objective assessment of the actual usage of the items among the group of teachers. It is conceivable that a person may claim to use an item (i.e. operate as part of the active vocabulary) but in fact does not do so, and vice versa, but since we have no way of knowing if this has happened here in any given case we must assume that someone claiming to use an item actually does so. A claim to use an item would indicate that it was acceptable in some situation.

Table 11.5 and Figure 11.5 show the results. Again the modified graph, Figure 11.5b provides the clearer picture. Most, if not all, the teachers claimed they did not use NEVER ... NONE, 37 (100); YOUS, 40 (95); THATS, 30 (94); SELLT, 35 (92); WILL CAN, 19 (90); or KEN?, 36 (88). A smaller majority, 32 (76) claimed not to use CHUM. No-one made a claim to use NEVER ... NONE or YOUS, and one or two only to use THATS, SELLT, WILL CAN and KEN?. A slightly higher proportion did claim to use CHUM. These mostly comprise the non-standard grammatical forms. Apart from CHUM all these were marked by the teachers as used by working-class speakers, while there were indications that CHUM was thought of as a young person's word rather than an adult's.

The items which most claimed to use were SHOOGLY, DREICH and HUMPH. A few claimed not to use these items. The claimed usage of these items was not universal but high

Table 11.5

Do you ever use this expression yourself?

	YES		NO		No Response	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
DOUBT (42)	28	67	13	31	1	2
THATS (32)	1	3	30	94	1	3
DREICH (40)	32	80	8	20	0	0
SHOGLY (42)	34	81	8	19	0	0
STRAVAIG (26)	14	54	12	46	0	0
KEN? (41)	5	12	36	88	0	0
NEVER/NONE (37)	0	0	37	100	0	0
SELLT (38)	3	8	35	92	0	0
YOUS (42)	0	0	40	95	2	5
UP TO HIGH DOH (40)	28	70	12	30	0	0
HUMPH (40)	32	80	8	20	0	0
CHUM (42)	10	24	32	76	0	0
WHAT A LAUGH IF (37)	19	51	17	46	1	3
WILL CAN (21)	2	10	19	90	0	0

Do you use this expression yourself?

Figure 11.5a

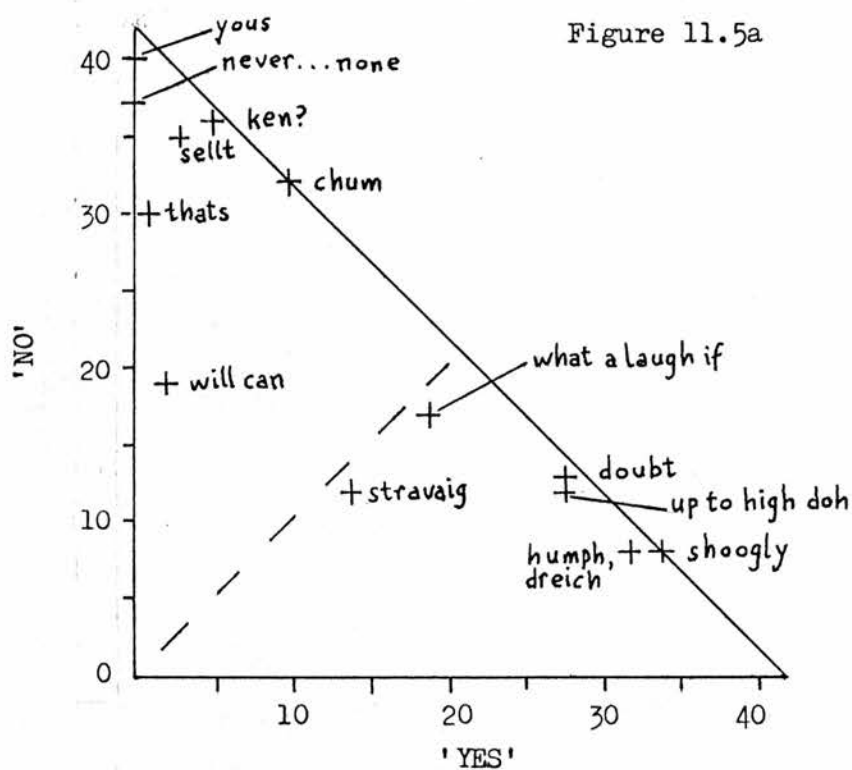
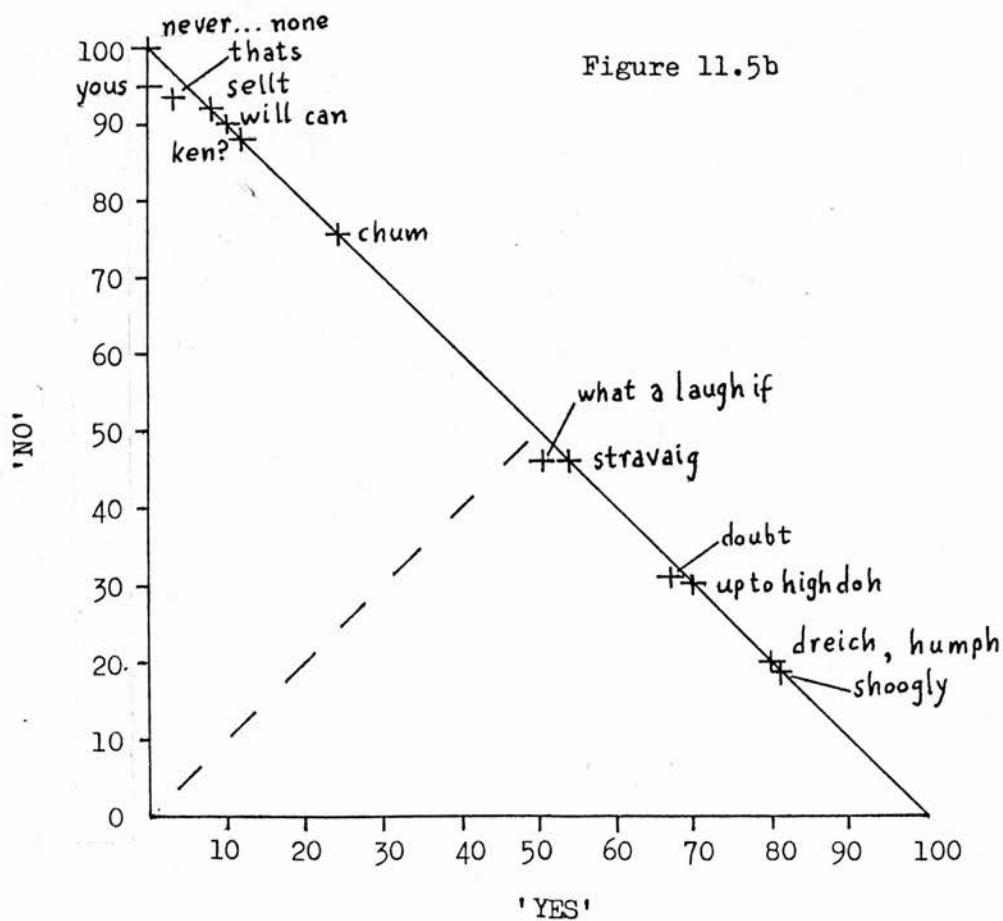


Figure 11.5b



in each case. Proportionally smaller majorities also claimed to use DOUBT and UP TO HIGH DOH.

The forms with the highest claimed usage are, then, lexical Scots forms and the anglomorphs DOUBT and UP TO HIGH DOH. These items were either unmarked socially for the teachers according to question (4) or of uncertain social markedness. This is consistent with the view that generally teachers see themselves as behaving like middle-class speakers and not as working-class speakers.

In the case of two items, STRAVAIG and WHAT A LAUGH IF, the teachers were evenly divided in their responses. The teachers were also uncertain about the social status of these items, particularly STRAVAIG.

Informants were also asked if they used an item to whom they would use it and on what sort of occasion. Responses to this part of the question came in the form of brief notes, some more informative than others.

Those items used by fewest informants obviously provide least information about the context of usage.

YOUS and THATS elicited one statement each. THATS would only be used by the informant "when not choosing my words carefully". YOUS would be used only "when I've had a few". The use of these two items would seem to be suppressed normally.

WILL CAN would be used in "ordinary conversation" one of the two informants here stated, while the other was "not sure" about its usage but felt it was "a very familiar phrase". Thus, those who claimed to use WILL CAN seemed

to find it quite acceptable to do so ordinarily.

One teacher claimed to use SELLT within the family context, with "wife, parents or relations". Another said "ordinary conversation". One claimed to have used it as a youngster implying he did not do so now.

KEN? would be used "in ordinary conversation" or "in everyday speech", particularly to "another Scot". However, there was some indication of disapproval, even though the item was used:

"I would try not to use the word but have lapsed in the past in conversation with family and friends."

Another teacher remarked he would use KEN? "jocularly to point out a pupil's overdependence on the expression", referring presumably to a habit of frequent reiteration of the item in speech by the pupil. The implication is that the teacher would not use KEN? normally.

It has already been noted that CHUM was perceived by a number of informants as being a part of a child's or young person's vocabulary. However, some respondents did claim to use it:

'in a friendly situation'

'informal; to anyone'

'in an informal atmosphere with close friends and family'

'... only informally in conversation with pupils'

'with friends and family'

Thus, there was good agreement that CHUM could be used by adults informally, en famille as well as by or to young people. Interestingly, two informants suggested it was an "Edinburgh" expression. CHUM was defined in terms of

"to accompany", so agreeing with the sense intended here.

The use of DOUBT varied between those who used it "anytime, to anyone", "regularly to anyone", "on every occasion" and those who claimed to restrict its use to informal, domestic situations:

"with friends"

"when amongst teachers or with my in-laws"

"at home"

"in relaxed circumstances with friends and family"

"to close friends"

Amongst the latter there is, perhaps, implied a perception of the item not being formal Standard English usage, while the former found it more widely acceptable. Certainly, there was some uncertainty in question (2) about whether it is Scots or English and the responses here may in some measure reflect this. Definitions offered were contextualised in terms of the example presented on the questionnaire (which was I doubt they're not coming):

"when at home and people are very late arrivals to a party"

"waiting for guests and giving up after some time"

"when someone is late and there is a doubt of the person turning up"

These point to an understanding of the sense of the item.

In response to WHAT A LAUGH IF, as with DOUBT, there is some division between general and more restricted usage. Some claimed to use it:

"often, to anyone"

"in everyday speech"

"all the time; to anyone in casual speech"

"frequently used to anyone"

Others felt it was used by them on more informal occasions:

"in informal conversation"

"to friend on informal occasion"

"in relaxed friendly conversation when it's not
necessary to 'mind my p's and q's'"

No-one offered a definition or a more specific context of usage.

UP TO HIGH DOH is used "to anyone" according to several teachers, also "in ordinary conversation", "at anytime", "casual conversation, to anyone". One teacher thought it was "slang" used "in conversation". One or two informants indicated a more informal context "to friends". Definitions were offered and revealed some variation in understanding. It was vaguely defined as "describing a person's state of being" and as indicating "that the person feels very strongly about the matter". These suggest, perhaps, an uncertainty about the precise meaning of the idiom. More specifically, it was thought to refer to:

"someone who was extremely upset or angry about something"

"when talking about someone in a very excited state of mind"

"to emphasise how upset someone is"

"when speaking about someone who has become very agitated about something"

These seem to match the definition (as intended here) quite well. Also given was "to describe someone's annoyance" and, an interesting context, "when I wished to be dismissive, in company where the use of it is rare". Does the

teacher mean he uses UP TO HIGH DOH as an expression of irritation or contempt for a person's excited, overwrought state of mind? That is, does this informant use the item stylistically in a specific way rather than as a simple statement of fact? Another interesting comment came from a respondent who felt, though not certainly, that "this is an expression used more by women than men?"

A number of respondents said they used SHOOGLY "generally", "to anyone", "all occasions - to anyone", "at any time to anyone". Others were more specific. One said that it would be used "anytime but on an occasion when watching 'p's' and 'q's'", another "to family and friends on all but the most formal occasion", still suggesting a broad context. Also given were:

"in conversation with friends"

"anyone in an informal situation"

"family, pupils, everyday situations"

"family, friends, young people"

"more likely in Aberdeen with friends and relatives"

"to people at home and to pupils on occasions"

"in a relaxed informal atmosphere"

There are numerous references to "family and friends".

The majority claim to use it in casual or domestic settings.

One or two referred specifically to

"people who speak in similar Scots terms"

"those who would understand it"

"Scottish friends"

stressing the speech community to which they saw themselves belonging. One thought that SHOOGLY might also be used for "humorous (sic) effect".

Contextual definitions of SHOOGLY mainly involved tables and chairs, no doubt suggested by the example given (This table's shoogly), but it may have been thought particularly applicable to these:

"of a table with a short leg"

"in relation to a chair or table"

"a table is not steady"

"of a chair being unsteady"

"wobbly tables"

"a table which was unstable"

"describing an unstable table or chair"

"unstable pieces of furniture; in days gone by the Tram Car".

The item was evidently well understood, as meaning 'unstable' 'unsteady' or 'wobbly'. The fact that all 42 potential informants knew SHOOGLY suggests that it is a familiar word.

Not so well known was STRAVAIG. Of those who claimed to use it, one or two felt they used it generally "on any occasion to anyone", "anywhere to everyone", "in ordinary conversation", also that it was a "very expressive Scottish word suited to any circumstances". Again, others prescribed a more specific context:

"in conversation with friends"

"at home to local people (S.W. Scotland)"

"informal conversation with friends or pupils"

In terms of understanding the sense of the item, one informant defined it as "describing some violent action" which is inaccurate according to our definition (to wander about) and suggests the informant misuses the word or has

mistaken it for something else. Another offered a contextualised definition of STRAVAIG as "referring to the usual fashion parade on Princes Street on Sat. mornings", in effect interpreting it in a specific sense of "to promenade". There is a stylistic comment from one informant who claimed to use it in a "joking or lighthearted comment", so that it would not be used in a straightforward factual way but rather as an exotic word, perhaps.

DREICH some claimed to use generally:

"anytime"

"to everyone"

"General conversation to anyone"

"on any occasion to anyone"

"to anyone"

Once more others were more specific:

"in everyday conversation to friends, family and at work"

"at home to friends"

"occasionally, to people I know well (I think)"

"Not in very formal situation, e.g. interview"

For some the interlocutor specified is Scots:

"... to family and friends (Scots people) who would understand the term"

"to people I know quite well who are Scots"

"to anyone who is Scottish"

The main context in which the item seems to be used is in relation to the weather:

"re weather"

"best expression to describe existing weather conditions"

"only of weather - usually preceded by 'gie' (sic)"

"in general when describing the weather we at times experience"

The weather conditions referred to are usually wet and dull:

DREICH would be used:

"when it's raining 'cats and dogs'"

"when the weather is dull and drizzly"

"on describing a dull, grey morning"

"to describe a dull, drizzly day"

"It's the best word to describe a particular kind of damp, grey, dull day"

"to describe dull weather"

"to describe a typical November's day"

Two informants extended the sense. One used DREICH "when it's raining and I'm miserable", extending the sense to the speaker's psychological state. Another, while also referring to weather applied the item to the "... outlook from a house and in some cases the decor".

Again, it may be that the specific example given, It was a dreich day, provoked so many comments in relation to using DREICH about the weather.

HUMPH is found to be used generally by some: "to anyone", "at any time to anyone", "at all times". But most defined their usage in terms of family and friends and informal settings:

"only amongst family/friends"

"to friends"

"to friends and family"

"when speaking to family and friends"

"would use it when amongst friends"

"informal to friend"

"to friends at home"

"in relaxed atmosphere with friends from similar socio-economic background"

"informal situations - general speech to anyone.
Not in very formal situation, e.g. interview"

"to close friends and family"

Most would seem to have regarded HUMPH as an informal, colloquial item.

The contexts in which HUMPH is used seem to involve physically moving, particularly carrying something, usually large or heavy:

"Describing the movement of a heavy object up a flight of stairs"

"when something heavy has to be moved upstairs"

"when moving furniture"

"when moving house or carrying heavy goods"

"struggling with a heavy object"

"when having to carry something"

"with reference to the act of carrying heavy objects for some distance"

"carrying a heavy load a fairly long distance"

"to emphasize how heavy a weight is"

The effect on the person doing the "humphing" was referred to:

"when I'm tired because I've carried something heavy"

"moving house or likewise. Indicating it was hard work"

"After moving house! It's the only word to describe what it's like carrying a fridge up 3 flights!"

The writer of the last remark seems to have regarded HUMPH as a useful and expressive item in his vocabulary.

The references to "upstairs" in the above quotations again probably relates to the example given - They had to

humph it all the way upstairs. This would seem to confirm that the informants were influenced sometimes in their definitions by the examples. The aim of the examples was to help make clear what the item was and it would seem to have had success in this.

Part II of the test was concerned with teachers' perceptions about lexical and grammatical forms in terms of acceptability in given situations, provenance, social status and usage by the informants. While complicated by statistical factors and the failure of one of the questions the results obtained are nonetheless revealing about attitudes to different types of Scotticism.

One teacher, in an unsolicited note on his questionnaire, gave his criteria for the responses he made:

"... my rationale seems to be that, where the Scots is strong and valuable, it is allowed; but discouraged if it is a usage that genuinely conflicts with (or misleads about) the normal rules of written English. (These seem to be more a matter of syntax than vocabulary)."

If other teachers were thinking along this line it would explain the pattern of the results: the general favour accorded Scots lexical items and the negative reactions to the grammatical items. It is, of course, a re-statement of the dichotomy between 'Good' and 'Bad' Scots (cf. Aitken, 1981) which was met with in the historical account. 'Good' Scots is 'strong and valuable', 'Bad' Scots is really incorrect English. We may recall the inspector who favoured "the retention of genuine Scots words" (HMI, 1907, XXIII : 356). Or the Renfrew head teachers, one of whom remarked

that care was taken to distinguish "words which belong to the vernacular as distinct from words which one might describe as 'provincialisms'", and another sought to "get rid of" forms like 'I seen' and 'wer' for 'our'. (SED/ISVS, 1925 : 5) The attitudes expressed through the present test clearly reflect this thinking about Scots linguistic forms. The implication is that Scots lexical items are acceptable but they should be embedded in 'correct' Standard English grammar.

Thus, there was a good level of tolerance in general terms to 'Good' Scots, paralleling that found in Part I in relation to some accents, notably ES and NE, which presumably are manifestations of 'Good' Scots at the level of realisation. However, it is worth noting again that the results in question (1) indicated an ambivalent response to the Scots lexical items in the context of the classroom. Even 'Good' Scots was not acceptable to all the teachers here.

Once more it must be emphasised that we are not saying anything about the teachers' behaviour in linguistic matters - we have not observed their actual use of language, or their reactions to their pupils' use of language. We have elicited some directed introspections which may or may not correlate well with the teachers' actual behaviour. The test (both parts) nevertheless offers lines of enquiry for any future observational study of actual linguistic behaviour among teachers.

CHAPTER 12 : SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

In this survey we have presented the fullest account so far of the development of attitudes and policy to Scots language in Scottish schools, and also elicited some current attitudes.

The historical account revealed a long term process of anglicisation in schools paralleling the trends in the overall linguistic situation. Scots lacked status in education in the Older Scots period because of the supremacy of Latin. Though English options of orthography, lexis and grammar were becoming more widely adopted in the written vernacular language during the 17th C., 'Scots' was not distinguished from 'English' until the 18th C. when Standard English became the language of literacy in schools and has remained so since. The history of the spoken language has proven more difficult to determine. What evidence there is suggests that the 19th C. was the period during which educational policy with respect to language, discouraging Scots in favour of English, spoken and written, became gradually formalised and institutionalised, particularly through the efforts of the Inspectorate and within the context of the state system of schooling. The 20th C. has seen this situation prevail. However, there are indications that Scots language has found some place in the school, if peripheral, during this century and even some official approval occasionally in recognising its cultural value. If anything, what the historical account has done is to show that matters have been less clear-cut than is

sometimes supposed.

The attitude test revealed a set of prejudices and preferences towards Scots linguistic material, mostly along traditional lines, particularly with respect to accents and their speakers. The response to some Scots forms, those which might be described as 'Good' Scots was very favourable, that is, to regional accents and to Scots lexical items. Also, an Educated Scots accent and its speaker were favoured by the vast majority. Thus, there exists a positive feeling and tolerance towards some forms of Scots and their speakers. Not favoured were those forms which might be described as 'Bad' Scots, Urban Demotic speech and non-standard and Scots grammatical forms, revealing also a capacity for intolerance and negative attitude towards other forms and their speakers.

These are clearly attitudes which would have to be taken into account in formulating any policy aimed at promoting Scots language in schools in the future, especially in relation to teacher-training and in-service courses.

It seems likely that these kinds of attitudes are held in society more widely, though this requires to be demonstrated formally. Sandred (forthcoming) may reveal more about this. Also, further investigation among teachers both by way of further exploration of their attitudes and investigation of how they behave linguistically in and out of the class-room is an evident desideratum. Macaulay (1977) provides evidence in his conversations with teachers which is broadly in line with the kind of attitudes elicited

here.

Though this survey has perforce been limited in its scope we believe it has been useful in setting out formally, systematically and objectively a body of data concerning a subject which generates much opinion and prejudice but on which hitherto there have existed only impressionistic judgements all of them at once vague and various or contradictory.

NOTES

Chapter 2

1. This refers to only half of the population at this time, the remainder being Gaelic speakers.
2. A predilection for the use of an uninflected past participle in verbs of Latin origin was a marked characteristic in the writings of schoolmasters according to MacQueen (op.cit. : 169). This was a feature of OSc, and therefore part of the Scots literary tradition. It may be speculated whether, Latin being the language of higher education and scholarship, this linguistic habit was a conscious mark of their status, indeed, of that of all educated Scots?

Chapter 3

1. Specifically the Shorter Catechism.
2. This is of interest to the present study in that the returns were written mainly by ministers of the Church of Scotland who not only had considerable responsibility for the schools in their locality in terms of management and inspection but also, in many cases, they had been dominies themselves at some stage in their careers. This was often the case between terms at the "Divinity Hall" or while awaiting a call to a charge. A minister might also have served as a tutor in a well-off or landed family. Indeed, some intending ministers were never ordained or inducted and remained schoolmasters.
3. "Collection" - a reading book, usually an anthology of passages from various sources.
4. Also, in Scott's Redgauntlet Darsie Latimer admits to having been mocked for his English accent. Presumably Scott was recording the behaviour of the pupils during his own time there which antedated Cockburn's by some 8 years.

5. See, for example, Cockburn's account of his education at the High School, Memorials (pp. 3-12).

Chapter 4

1. For an interesting and stimulating account of this and the Scottish Universities in general during the 19th C. see G.E. Davie, The Democratic Intellect, EUP, (1961).
2. For remarks on this at the turn of the century see: R. de Bruce Trotter "The Scottish Language" in The Gallovidian, III (1901) (pp. 22-29). Trotter describes some of its features:

"This Glasgow Irish is spoken in a high key, with a particular snivel as if the soft palate was wanting." It sounds most like Chinese. "The words are snapped off short as in Chinese" and the central consonants converted into H, so better comes out be a and water as wa a.

(op. cit. : 24)

D. McNaught "The Raucle Tongue of Burns" in Burns Chronicle X, 1901 (reprinted in op. cit. (1955)(p. 20).

McNaught refers to " ... the degraded hotchpotch of the Gallowgate ..." and claims:

"Nine-tenths of so-called modern Scots is a concrete of vulgarised, imperfect English, in wh. are sparsely imbedded more or less corrupted forms of the lovely words with which Burns wove his verbal magic."

(op. cit. : 27)

And for recent comments see Macaulay (1977).

3. Ironically Cockburn was one of the founders of the Edinburgh Academy which opened on 1st Oct., 1824 (Memorials : 414-5).
4. Of the ministers of the Presbytery of Elgin who were responsible for inspecting the schools for the Dick Bequest over the period 1836-72, 9 out of 14 had been teachers or private tutors themselves at some stage in their careers. (Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae) Indeed the 1836 Dick Bequest Report pointed out that,

"A large proportion of them [schoolmasters] are students of divinity or preachers."

(DB Report, 1836 : 40)

This was seen as beneficial to the schools, teachers with this background being perceived as having better "literary qualifications" and a better social status. This point was often made in the DB Reports and also in the reports of HMI.

5. According to the 1836 DB Report, English Grammar had been taught rarely. Of 137 schools under the Bequest in 1833 it was not taught in 51 (37%), and in the others only 548 pupils out of 7,000 were receiving instruction in it, less than 8%. (DB Report, 1836: 40n)
6. These reports are MS and the punctuation is irregular; quotations are transcribed diplomatically.
7. Davie (1961 : 24) claims that those who were concerned with Scots as an acceptable literary medium in the 18th and early 19th C.'s were, by and large, Scottish Humanists. He cites the Ruddiman family as a case, alluding to their support of Robert Ferguson.
8. Actually the first appointee was John Gordon, who edited the New Statistical Account, but he withdrew. (See Bone, 1966 : 22)

Chapter 5

1. The "deficit theory" has been severely criticised, particularly by W. Labov and other sociolinguists. See especially, W. Labov (1969) "The Logic of non-standard English" in Sociolinguistic Patterns (1972).
2. These were young 'apprentice' teachers in an early form of teacher training which involved practical teaching experience in schools.

Chapter 6

1. For an interesting contrast in views on the possibility of introducing Scots in schools see the letters under the heading "The Broad Scots Movement" from John Cook in the issue for 13/11/25 and a response from W. Cumming 20/11/25 which seem to sum up the opposing positions.

The Grieve studies have been republished by The Scottish Educational Journal (1977) as Hugh MacDiarmid: Contemporary Scottish Studies.

2. The report actually concerned itself with Gaelic literature in translation.

Chapter 8

1. Aitken describes it as " ... the more or less exclusive property of the Scottish laird class, the county gentlefolk of Scotland, and some other members of middle- or upper-class Scottish society".

Chapter 9

1. Because it was necessary to carry out a large number of tests, calculation was done by computer, using a program or chi-square 2 x 2 tables on the Edinburgh University's Department of Linguistics micro-computer, and a program for Fisher's Exact Test on ERCC's ICL 2980 computer.

Chapter 10

1. Crosstabulation and calculations for sex and age were carried out using CROSSTABS program in the SPSS package (Nie et. al., 1975).

APPENDIX:

Results of Statistical Tests, IB(i),(ii) - Levels of Significance

Figures show levels of significance for tests of comparison, χ^2
 (Ho,2: $x_1, y_1 = x_2, y_2$), $p < 0.001$ etc.; - result not significant.

(1) RURAL/URBAN

UD	0.05					
NE	0.001	0.001				
RP	-	-	0.001			
HI	0.001	0.001	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	-	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(2) ATTRACTIVE/UNATTRACTIVE

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	0.001	0.01	0.001			
HI	-	0.001	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	-	0.001	0.01	0.001	
CL	0.001	0.01	0.001	-	0.001	0.01
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(3) AFFECTED/NATURAL

UD	-					
NE	0.05*	0.05				
RP	0.001	0.001	0.001			
HI	-	-	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.01	0.001	
CL	-	-	-	0.001	-	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

* probability calculated using Fisher's Exact Test

(4) HIGHFALUTIN/ORDINARY

UD	-					
NE	-	NC				
RP	0.001	0.001	0.001			
HI	-	NC	NC	0.001		
KV	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.05	0.001	
CL	-	NC	NC	0.001	NC	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(5) ACCEPTABLE/NOT ACCEPTABLE

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	0.001	-	0.001			
HI	-	0.001	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	-	0.001	0.001	0.001	
CL	0.001	-	0.001	-	0.001	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(6) CULTIVATED/COARSE

UD	0.001					
NE	0.001*	0.001				
RP	-	0.001	0.001*			
HI	0.001	0.001	0.01	0.001		
KV	-	0.001	0.01*	-	0.001	
CL	0.001	0.01*	0.001	0.001	0.05	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(7) EDUCATED/UNEDUCATED

UD	0.001					
NE	0.01*	0.001				
RP	-	0.001	0.001*			
HI	0.001	0.05	0.001	0.001		
KV	-	0.001	-	0.05*	0.001	
CL	0.001	-	0.001	0.001	0.05	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(8) MONOTONOUS/TUNEFUL

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	0.001	-	0.001			
HI	-	0.001	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	-	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	0.001	-	0.001	-	0.001	-
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(9) SLOVENLY/CAREFUL

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	NC	0.001	-			
HI	0.001	0.001	0.01	0.001		
KV	-	0.001	-	-	0.001	
CL	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.01	0.01
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(10) COULD BE/COULD NOT BE IMPROVED

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	0.01	0.001	0.05			
HI	0.001	0.01	0.001	-		
KV	0.001	-	0.001	0.01	-	
CL	0.001	-	0.001	0.01	-	-
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(1) LIKEABLE/UNLIKEABLE

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	0.001	-	0.001			
HI	-	0.001	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	0.01	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	0.001	0.05	0.001	0.001	0.05	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(2) LIVELY/DULL

UD	0.01					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	0.001	0.01	0.001			
HI	0.01	-	0.001	0.05		
KV	0.001	0.05	0.001	-	0.05	
CL	0.001	0.001	0.001	-	0.001	--
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(3) GENEROUS/NOT GENEROUS

UD	-					
NE	-	0.05*				
RP	0.001	0.001	0.001			
HI	-	-	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	0.001	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	-	-	0.01	0.001	0.01	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(4) INTELLIGENT/UNINTELLIGENT

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	-	0.001	-			
HI	0.001	0.01	0.01	0.01		
KV	0.05*	0.001	-	-	-	-
CL	0.001	-	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(5) HONEST/UNTRUSTWORTHY

(5) HONEST/UNTRUSTWORTHY

UD	0.001*					
NE	-	0.001*				
RP	0.001*	-	0.001			
HI	-	0.01*	-	0.01		
KV	0.001	0.05	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	0.01*	-	0.05*	-	0.05*	0.01
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(6) FREINDLY/UNFRIENDLY

UD	-					
NE	-	-				
RP	0.001	0.001	0.001			
HI	-	-	-	0.001		
KV	0.001	0.001	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	-	-	0.05*	0.001	-	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(7) IN AUTHORITY/IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION

UD	0.001					
NE	0.001	-				
RP	-	0.001	0.001			
HI	0.001	-	0.05*	0.001		
KV	-	0.001	0.001	0.05	0.001	
CL	0.001	-	0.05	0.001	-	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(8) ARTICULATE/INARTICULATE

UD	0.001					
NE	-	0.001				
RP	NC	0.001	-			
HI	0.001	0.01	0.01	0.001		
KV	-	0.001	-	-	0.01	
CL	0.001	-	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(9) CONFIDENT/UNSURE

UD	0.01					
NE	-	0.05				
RP	-	0.01	-			
HI	0.001	-	0.001	0.001		
KV	0.05*	-	-	0.05*	0.05	
CL	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(10) WELL OFF/POORLY OFF FINANCIALLY

UD	0.001					
NE	0.001	0.01				
RP	NC	0.001	0.001			
HI	0.001	-	0.01	0.001		
KV	-	0.001	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	0.001	-	0.001*	0.001	-	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(11) WELL EDUCATED/POORLY EDUCATED

UD	0.001					
NE	0.001*	0.001				
RP	NC	0.001	0.001*			
HI	0.001	-	0.001	0.001		
KV	0.05*	0.001	-	0.05*	0.001	
CL	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
	ES	UD	NE	RP	HI	KV

(12) DOMINATING/SUBMISSIVE

UD	-					
NE	0.01	0.05				
RP	-	0.05	0.001			
HI	0.001	0.001	-	0.001		
KV	-	0.05	0.001	-	0.001	
CL	0.001	0.001	0.001*	0.001	0.01*	0.001

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Abbreviations used in references in the main text -

HMI, 1898, XXXII : 212	These refer to the Annual General Reports of HM Chief Inspectors. The year of publication is given followed by the volume number of bound Parliamentary Papers in which the report appears. The page number is that of the report.
SED/Corr.	Scottish Education Department/Correspondence.
SED/Memo.	Memorandum
SED/Minute.	Departmental minute
ISVS	'Instruction in the Scots Vernacular in Schools'
OSA	Old Statistical Account
NSA	New Statistical Account
DB/Presb.	Inspection reports for the Dick Bequest by the Presbytery of Elgin
DB/Visit.	Dick Bequest Visitation Reports
DB/Report	Occasional reports of the Dick Bequest
SELJ	Scottish Educational and Literary Journal

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